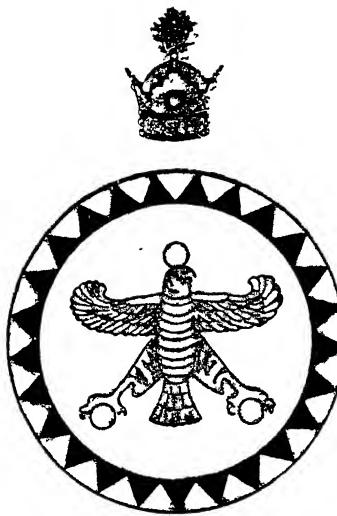


“These warm and affectionate sentiments which I observe in the people encourage me more than ever in my desire to serve. However selfish I might be, I realise fully that the power of kingship depends on the power of the nation, and the pedestals of the throne have their security in the hearts of the people. My wish is that every Iranian will benefit equally from his national and social rights, and that the sacred principles of the Constitution and real democracy are perfectly established in my country.”  
Excerpt from His Majesty’s speech in May 1947.



**IRAN**  
**In the Reign of His Majesty**  
**Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi**

**BY**  
**Ali Asghar Shamim**

**CENTRAL COUNCIL**  
**CELEBRATION OF THE 25th CENTURY OF THE**  
**FOUNDATION OF THE IRANIAN EMPIRE**

Translated into English  
**BY**  
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# Chapter One

## **Iran in the Second World War (1941-1945)**

### **Introduction**

The Second World War began in September 1939 with the attacks of the German land and air forces against Poland, and lasted until August 1945. In this war the Axis Powers included Nazi Germany under the leadership of Adolph Hitler, Fascist Italy under Mussolini, and the Japanese empire, otherwise called the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis. At the outset of the war the Allies comprised Great Britain and France, but gradually they were joined by other countries such as the Soviet Union, the United States, British Dominions, several South American countries, from Asia China and Iran, and from Europe all those countries which had been occupied by German and Italian forces.

On September 3rd 1939 after the German invasion of Poland, the British and French governments, which had guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of Poland, declared war on Germany. On September 28 the German-Soviet agreement was signed by their respective Foreign Ministers to divide Poland, and the whole of that

country was occupied by their combined forces. The political circles of those days in the world were amazed and shocked by such an agreement between two totally opposite regimes as Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, for the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Axis was in essence perfectly anti-communistic.

In June 1940, Italy entered the war against Britain and France, and one week later Marshall Pétain asked the Axis for an armistice. But De Gaulle, a military officer of high rank who had left France for London, in a manifesto invited all Frenchmen and French colonials in North Africa to fight against the German forces which had occupied a considerable part of the French territory, and this gallant struggle of the French nation led by De Gaulle continued until the final victory of the Allies.

In the months of June and August 1940, Japan sent an ultimatum to India and China; and on November 4 Franklin Roosevelt, whose term of office as President had expired, was re-elected as U.S. President, and in March 1941 the Lend-Lease Act was passed by Congress to aid the Allies. This was the first step taken by the United States towards the final victory of the Allies.

In April 1941 the Non-aggression pact was concluded between Soviet Russia and Japan; and then suddenly amidst the consternation and shock of the agitated world of that day, on June 22nd, 1941, German forces crossed the Russian frontiers of Poland on several fronts and with astonishing speed invaded the main Russian territory. In this way the excessive pressure which had been exerted by the German military organisation on England since the defeat and surrender of France, was to some extent reduced.

On August 14th, 1941, the Atlantic Charter was signed by British and American leaders declaring the necessity of continuing the war against the Axis for the purpose of establishing peace in the world. On December 7th, 1941 the

United States and China declared war on Germany, Italy and Japan.

On January 1st, 1942 the Allied Nation's Declaration was issued, and in May 1942 an agreement for reciprocal military alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Soviet Russia; and in November of the same year French volunteers and French colonial forces in North Africa under De Gaulle joined the Allies in the war against Germany and Italy.

The Second World War was fought in Asia, Europe and Africa as well as on the wide oceans of the world. Between the years 1943 and 1945 three conferences of the great Allied leaders met in Casablanca (on 14 January, 1943), in Tehran (in December, 1943), and in Yalta (in February, 1945). Eventually the War came to an end on the 15th of August, 1945, with the decisive defeat of Germany and Italy, and a little later Japan capitulated.

### **Allied attention focused on Iran**

The German invasion of Russia perforce placed that government in the rank of enemies of Germany, both hostile and non-hostile. First Churchill, the British Prime Minister declared on 23 June 1941 that Britain would aid Soviet Russia with all the means at her disposal, and then Roosevelt, the U.S. President, referring to this question said that in the fight against the Axis it was vital to assist Russia for the defence of the United States, and he extended the Lend-Lease Act to that government. The British and U.S. ambassadors in Moscow delivered the messages of their respective leaders to Stalin, the Soviet Premier, and a tripartite conference was held from September 29 to October 1st of British, American and Soviet delegates in Moscow in order to find ways and means of collaboration with Russia.

Collaboration with Russia, that is to say, dispatch of arms and munitions, raw materials, foodstuffs and other

necessary materials to strengthen the economic, industrial and military condition of that country, depended on the existence of a highroad and means of communication in order to link the sea routes to the Soviet frontiers. There were only two such ways: the sea route of the North Atlantic and the North Sea which reached Murmansk, the Soviet port in the north-west of Russia, and the Persian Gulf leading to Iranian waters and ports. As the first route was closely watched by German submarines in Norwegian waters, it was extremely dangerous to send necessary materials to Russia along that route, and such an action involved considerable naval losses to Britain and the United States.

Consequently the tripartite conference and subsequently the leaders of Great Britain, America and Russia were forced to turn their attention to Iran, and this question led to a series of political negotiations between British and Soviet delegates on the one hand, and the Iranian Foreign Office and Reza Shah Pahlavi the Great on the other.

### **Violation of Iranian neutrality**

Following her general international policy, Iran had friendly commercial relations with most countries of the world, particularly with her neighbours and European countries; and in order to carry out her economic programme, she benefited from a number of commercial and technical agreements with several great European countries including Germany. Reza Shah, who was fully determined to effect a number of fiscal, social and educational reforms, declared Iran to be neutral from the very beginning of the Second World War, and the Iranian government did its utmost to maintain its friendly relations with all the countries which had for some time had political and commercial relations with Iran.

One of the important principles of Iranian economic policy in the reign of Reza Shah was to conclude and carry out clearing agreements with many countries of the world,

particularly those whose commercial exchange with Iran formed a high figure in the foreign trade of this country, in which Iran gained much and was able to augment its savings of foreign exchange as well as its international credit. Germany was one of those countries which, in addition to its exchange agreement with Iran, had provided many facilities in the trade with this country, and had in the foreign trade of Iran gradually assumed the first rank both in the volume of exports and imports, and in the value of such goods. Moreover, a number of German technical experts were employed in various governmental and industrial institutions of Iran, both public or private

After the German invasion of Russia on 22nd June 1941, Iran once more declared its neutrality in the War, but a change was perforce taking place in the foreign policy of this country. For, on the one hand the Russian authorities considered the presence of German experts in the government and private institutions of Iran contrary to their interests, and demanded the expulsion of a group which they considered as the Fifth Column of the German political and military forces. They insisted upon this demand but the Iranian government gave Soviet Russia the repeated assurance that there was no danger from this small group of German experts. On the other hand Britain was alarmed by the rapid advance of the German forces in the Caucasus which might open the way for Hitler to reach the oil fields of southern Iran. Moreover, Britain wished to help Russia by sending her munitions, arms and foodstuffs, and for this purpose the lines of communications via the Persian Gulf to the Caspian and Soviet frontiers were considered the most suitable; therefore it was insisted that Iran should place the Trans-Iranian railways and roads at the disposal of Great Britain and Soviet Russia, to be used for the transport of arms and munitions and other materials to the Russian frontiers. But as Iran considered such an action contrary to the principle of neutrality in war, it disregarded the demands of England

and Russia; and one of the mistakes made by the government of Ali Mansour was that it neglected to give exact and true information to Reza Shah concerning the demands of the Allies.

The negotiations of the Soviet and British political delegates with Iran coincided with the amazingly rapid advance of the German forces in the European territory of Russia, the Caucasus and the neighbouring territories of the Black Sea. Consequently a joint note was delivered by the British and Soviet governments to the Iranian authorities on 19 July 1941 followed by a stronger note at the end of that month. This time too the government of Ali Mansur did not dare to inform Reza Shah explicitly that the British and Soviet governments were determined to resort to military force for the accomplishment of their demands. Suddenly at midnight on 24 August 1941 the British and Soviet ambassadors in Tehran called on Ali Mansur, the Iranian Prime Minister, and delivered notes of a similar purport, declaring that their joint forces would soon cross the Iranian frontiers.

At 3 a.m. on August 25th 1941 Iranian territory was invaded by the Soviet forces from the north and by the British forces from the west. At the same time several British naval units opened fire on the Iranian naval bases in the port of Khorramshahr in the south, during which action Admiral Bayandor, commander of the Iranian naval forces and a number of officers and sailors were killed in the garrison, on the shore or on board the Iranian fleet, and most of the Iranian warships were either damaged or sunk.

In answer to the Iranian protest against this invasion, the Soviet diplomat, while referring to the note of midnight of August 4, brought up the Irano-Soviet agreement of 1923, in which it was claimed that the Soviet government had the right of landing forces to protect Iran and its frontiers as soon as Iran became a military base likely to be used by enemies. This answer was by no means convincing for Iran and there was no legal ground in the said agreement to

be used by Russia. For Iran had not become a military base for the enemies, and the neutral and peaceful government of Iran did not at all wish to cause any damage to the neighbourly and friendly relations of Iran with Soviet Russia, particularly as Russia always assumed a second or a third position of importance in the foreign trade of this country, a relationship which was increasingly flourishing.

### **The New Government and cease-fire**

The sudden invasion of the Iranian territory by the Soviet and British forces, the cause and aims of which were unknown to the majority of the Iranians and even to some political and press circles in the country, created a panic throughout Iran, and caused the government to lose control of the situation in many respects. Profiteers became very active and began the hasty purchase and hoarding of essential public materials and foodstuffs. In most of the garrisons in the north, west and south-west the advance of the invading forces caused great confusion and a total lack of discipline. Great capitalists and extremists of the right, fearing the approach of the Red forces to the capital rushed to the banks to withdraw their deposits. A brisk market developed for rumours, and gossip-mongers of the right and left became busy with their reports for and against the British and Soviet invaders. The common people, amidst the shock and amazement caused by this unexpected event, began to be deeply affected by such rumours and were thoroughly agitated and anxious about their own future and the fate of their country and its political regime.

Within forty-eight hours of the arrival of the British and Soviet forces in Iran, the government of Ali Mansur resigned, and Mohamad Ali Foroughi, an old statesman who had a great reputation in literary and political circles of the world, was appointed Prime Minister by Reza Shah. The first step taken by the new government was to enter into negotiations with Soviet and British delegates following which a

proclamation was issued ordering all Iranian forces to cease fire. Then in an extraordinary session of the House of Representatives, the Prime Minister gave the deputies a brief account of the events of the last two days, and after presenting the members of his cabinet, he declared explicitly that the order to lay down arms was issued through the government to all garrisons by His Majesty who was commander-in-chief of all the disciplinary forces in the country; and that the Government would endeavour to bring to an end the state of war existing between this country and the British and Soviet governments. Finally Foroughi was able to win the approval of Parliament and Reza Shah concerning the British and Soviet demands. In reporting the agreement of the government and Parliament to the Allied demands, Foroughi asked both governments to abstain from sending their armies to the capital, a request which was accepted by the Allies at first, but a few days later on the pretext that the Iranian government had shown negligence in the execution of its obligations, they declared that their joint forces would enter the suburbs of Tehran, and at the same time, inspite of the declaration of cease-fire and although Iranian forces had abstained from showing any resistance, Allied bombers made a sudden attack on a number of defenceless towns in the north-west and west of Iran on 30th August 1941, destroyed a number of houses and buildings, and in Hamadan caused considerable casualties (around 400).

The capital was in a fever of political crisis; the rumour of the transfer of the seat of government from Tehran to Isfahan and the departure of Reza Shah for that city passed from mouth to mouth; big city stores were shut up, and the rumour of the approach of the Red army to the capital coupled with the violent propaganda of German agents against Russia, including the charge of plundering and pillaging of public property laid against the Red army, disorganised all political and social affairs and brought Foroughi's government face to face with many great difficulties.

## **Abdication of Reza Shah the Great**

A few years before the Second World War Reza Shah intended to retire in favour of his eldest son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, Crown Prince of Iran, and act as a senior and experienced statesman and adviser to the new king in important matters. But although he abandoned the idea for certain reasons, nevertheless he had resolved to hand over the rule to his successor and Crown Prince around the year 1945. The events of August 1941 advanced the date of this decision by a few years.

Although the state of war had terminated between Iran and the Allies, during the second half of August and the beginning of September, some irresponsible speakers of the BBC in London made biting and insolent remarks about Reza Shah. On the other hand, the late king was not a man to remain king and tolerate the occupation of his kingdom by foreign forces or their interference in the internal affairs of the country. This attitude was expressed by His Majesty Reza Shah in a speech full of deep sentiments towards his country and people, saying:

“The people have always considered me an independent, determined and powerful king, and protector of their country and interests; and because of this respect, reliance and confidence of the people I cannot be the nominal head of an occupied land, to be dictated to by a minor English or Russian officer.”

The reaction and effect of these sedate and logical words on the mind of the Crown Prince who later assumed kingship was that when he succeeded his father he did not meet or discuss with any Allied representatives except their leaders and ambassadors, and endeavoured with all his mental power and ability to put an end to all interference in the internal affairs of Iran.

Reza Shah who considered it advisable to abdicate for the sake of his country and nation, and believed that the

Allied authorities would more easily reach an understanding with his successor for the solution of many existing political and economic difficulties, took this step at last, and left for Bandar Abass via Esfahan and Kerman, and thence by a British ship for Mauritius.

Immediately following the abdication of Reza Shah, in accordance with the Constitution and its supplementary law, kingship was transferred to his eldest son, His Highness Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who was nearing the end of his twenty-second year.

### **The King in Parliament**

At 4.30 on Wednesday 16th September 1941, His Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi ceremonially attended an extraordinary meeting of the parliament, and in accordance with Article 39 of the Supplementary Law of the Constitution read and signed the text of the oath, and in his first speech in the Parliament, which was delivered in deep sadness but with true faith and confidence, he uttered these words:

“Now that the internal circumstances have made it expedient that I should assume the serious duties of kingship, and in accordance with the Constitution take the reigns of the government in my hands in such a burdensome situation, bearing in mind the principles of the Constitution and separation of powers, I deem it necessary to point out the need of absolute and constant co-operation between the government and Parliament, and in order to safeguard the high interests of the country, I wish to state that I myself, the government, the Parliament and all citizens of this country should take every care in the performance of our duties, and should never show negligence in the perfect observance of the laws.”

In his speech, the King referred to three significant points:—

I — The need for perfect collaboration and harmony between the government, the legislative and judicial institutions for the purpose of the strict enforcement of laws and regulations to safeguard public welfare, particularly that of the army and civil servants.

2 — The revision of the laws and their conformity with the needs of the time, and provision of a comprehensive programme of reform in social, economic and financial matters, having legal security as its main objective.

3 — The need for a close co-operation between Iran and those governments whose interests are particularly related to those of Iran, on condition that the interests of this country are perfectly borne in mind in such a co-operation.

In this way the reign of the young King of Iran began in the most critical moment of the political history of this country.

### **Character of the King**

With the disturbed condition of the occupied country and the distress of the people who were anxious about their future it was essential that a man of resolution, realism, prudence, intelligence and wisdom, patriotism and attachment to his people should take the reins of the government in his hands, and fortunately the young King possessed all these qualities to a high degree. He combined courage with prudence, patriotism with realism, resolution with reflection coupled with a deep and steadfast faith in religion. He had learnt the lesson of courage and resolution in the school of Reza Shah, and during his years of study in Iran and Switzerland he had become acquainted with the science and learning of the time, knew French and English well, had co-operated with his father for some time in managing the affairs of the country and solving important political problems, was well aware of all the social afflictions and difficulties of the country and sincerely believed in the principle of national socialism.

From the beginning of his rule, and perhaps even for a long time before that, the King was disgusted with ruling over a nation which was poverty-stricken and deprived of social privileges, and was always meditating how to eliminate class differences from the Iranian society, raise the level of public income, and repress the encroachment and unreasonable demands of privileged classes over the hard-working majority of the nation. The King's mind was constantly busy with the problems of general poverty, the exclusion of the peasants and labouring classes from the benefits of modern civilisation, the question of illiteracy, the miseries caused by the occupation of Iran in economic and financial matters, the direct interference of foreign authorities in the internal affairs of the country, lack or discipline in the forces, the absence of a free hand by the army in the occupied zones, the provision of the Allied monetary needs in rials, and the constant diminution of exports due to the closing of international trade routes, and even more important were the questions of clearing up the position of Iran in relation to the Allies, the ascertainment and stabilisation of the relations of Iran with the British and Soviet governments, the solution of mutual problems such as the Allied use of roads and means of transport, and currency exchange between Iran and the two governments.

### **The Parliament in its 13th session**

The proclamation for the election of the 13th Parliament was in accordance with the Constitution issued three months before the end of the term of the 12th Parliament on 30th May 1941 by the Ministry of the Interior, and Reza Shah's decree was communicated to the nation. The 12th Parliament was terminated on November 1st, 1941, and the 13th Parliament was formally opened by the king on Thursday 13th November, and with the appointment of the executive committee it began to function. Thus the intermission between the 12th and 13th Parliaments lasted 13 days.

The composition of the 13th parliament was not much different from its predecessors, for the election had been carried out in the reign of Reza Shah and with the same method adopted by the governments of that powerful King concerning the election of the legislative assembly. In other words, this Parliament was forged by the particular home policy of Reza Shah, which meant that it could begin to function under the wonderful security of that time and free from all political and party conflicts. But with the German invasion of Russia, the destiny of Iran was changed, and the parliament which was made for the time of peace and tranquillity was suddenly faced with numerous social disturbances, political and party conflicts, and many other problems; and it was clear that such a Parliament could never succeed in its work without the wise and prudent guidance of the King.

On November 13, Hassan Esfandiari, an old statesman who had for many years served as minister in various cabinets of the earlier periods of the Constitutional government and had also been elected Speaker during the term of the 12th Parliament, was once more nominated Speaker, a position which he held to the end of this Parliament's life, that is, 23rd November 1943.

### **Treaty of Alliance between Iran and the Allies**

The clear-sighted and realistic mind of the young King coupled with the provident intelligence of Mohammad Ali Foroughi, the wise and philosophically-minded Premier of Iran, wasted no time or effort to determine the policy of Iran in connection with the Allies and their relations with Iran, and after months of discussion between Iran and the Allies the way was paved for the drawing-up of a treaty of alliance.

The text of the tripartite treaty of alliance between Iran, Great Britain and Soviet Russia was signed in the Iranian Foreign Office at 6.15 p.m. on Thursday 29th January 1942, and was approved by the King. It runs as follows:—

His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah of Iran on the one hand, and His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the other:

Having in view the principles of the Atlantic Charter jointly agreed upon and announced to the World by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on the 14th August, 1941, and endorsed by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the 24th September, 1941, with which His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah declares His complete agreement and from which He wishes to benefit on an equal basis with the other nations of the World and:

Being anxious to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between them and:

Considering that these objects will best be achieved by the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance;

Have agreed to conclude a treaty for this purpose and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries;

His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah of Iran:

His Excellency Ali SOHEILY,

Minister for Foreign Affairs,

His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India; for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:

Sir Reader William BULLARD, K.C.M.G., C.I.E.,

His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Iran,

The Presidium of the Supereme Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics,

His Excellency André Andreevitch SMIRNOV,

Ambassador Extraordinary

and

Plenipotentiary

of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Iran,

who having communicated their full powers found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

## **ARTICLE 1.**

His Majesty The King of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (hereinafter referred to as the Allied Powers) jointly and severally undertake to respect the territorial integrity, the sovereignty and the political independence of Iran.

## **ARTICLE II.**

An Alliance is established between His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah of Iran on the one hand and the Allied Powers on the other.

## **ARTICLE III.**

(1) The Allied Powers jointly and severally undertake to defend Iran by all the means at their command from all aggression on the part of Germany or any other Power.

(2) His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah undertakes:

- (a) To cooperate with the Allied Powers with all the means at His command and in every way possible in order that they may be able to fulfil the above undertaking. The assistance of the Iranian forces shall however be limited to the maintenance of internal security on Iranian territory.
- (b) To secure to the Allied Powers for the passage of troops or supplies from one Allied Power to the other, or for other similar purposes, the unrestricted right to use, maintain, guard, and in case of military necessity, control in any way that they may require, all the means of communication throughout Iran, including railways, roads, rivers,

aerodromes, ports, pipe lines and telephone, telegraph and wireless installations.

- (c) To furnish all possible assistance and facilities in obtaining material and recruiting labour for the purpose of the maintenance and the improvement of the means of communications referred to in paragraph b):
- (d) To establish and maintain in collaboration with the Allied Powers such measures of censorship control as they may require for all the means of communication referred to in paragraph b).

(3) It is clearly understood that in the application of paragraph (2) b), and d) of the present article the Allied Powers will give full consideration to the essential needs of Iran.

#### **ARTICLE IV.**

(1) The Allied Powers may maintain in Iranian territory land, sea and air forces in such number as they consider necessary. The location of such forces shall be decided in agreement with the Iranian Government so long as the strategic situation allows. All questions concerning the relations between the forces of the Allied Powers and the Iranian authorities shall be settled so far as possible in cooperation with the Iranian authorities in such a way as to safeguard the security of the said forces.

It is understood that the presence of these forces on Iranian territory does not constitute a military occupation and will disturb as little as possible the administration and the security forces of Iran, the economic life of the country, the normal movements of the population and the application of Iranian laws and regulations.

(2) A separate agreement or arrangement shall be concluded as soon as possible after the entry into force of the present treaty regarding any financial obligations to be borne

by the Allied Powers under the provisions of the present article and of paragraph (2) b), c) and d) of article 3 above, in such matters as local purchases, the hiring of buildings and plant, the employment of labour, transport charges etcetera. A special agreement shall be concluded between the Allied Governments and the Imperial Iranian Government defining the conditions of any transfers to the Imperial Iranian Government after the war of buildings and other improvements effected by the Allied Powers on Iranian territory. These agreements shall also settle the immunities to be enjoyed by the Allied forces in Iran.

#### **ARTICLE V..**

The forces of the Allied Powers shall be withdrawn from Iranian territory not later than six months after all hostilities between the Allied Powers and Germany and her Associates have been suspended by the conclusion of an armistice or armistices, or on the conclusion of peace between them whichever date is the earlier.

The expression "Associates" of Germany means all other Powers which have engaged or may in future engage in hostilities against either of the Allied Powers.

#### **ARTICLE VI.**

(1) The Allied Powers undertake in their relations with foreign countries not to adopt an attitude which is prejudicial to the territorial integrity, the sovereignty or the political independence of Iran, nor to conclude treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the present treaty. They undertake to consult the Government of His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah in all matters affecting the direct interests of Iran.

(2) His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah undertakes not to adopt in His relations with foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the Alliance nor to conclude

treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the present treaty.

#### **ARTICLE VII.**

The Allied Powers jointly undertake to use their best endeavours to safeguard the economic existence of the Iranian people against the privations and difficulties arising as a result of the present war. On the entry into force of the present treaty discussions shall be opened between the Government of Iran and the Governments of the Allied Powers as to the best possible methods of carrying out the above undertaking.

#### **ARTICLE VIII.**

The provisions of the present treaty are equally binding as bilateral obligations between His Imperial Majesty The Shahinshah and each of the two other High Contracting Parties.

#### **ARTICLE IX.**

The present treaty shall come into force on signature and shall remain in force until the date fixed for the withdrawal of the forces of the Allied Powers from Iranian territory in accordance with Article 5.

In witness whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

Done at Tehran in triplicate in Persian, English and Russian all being equally authentic, on the twenty-ninth day of January one thousand nine hundred and forty-two.

Immediately after the treaty was signed and copies exchanged, formal letters were exchanged between the British and Soviet ambassadors and the Iranian Foreign Ministry, confirming and interpreting certain articles of the treaty, serving as supplements to the original copies. They were as follows:—

I — Letters of a similar tone by the Soviet and British embassies to the Iranian Foreign Ministry dated 29th January 1942 to the effect that the said governments would carry out the provisions of Article One Chapter 6 of the Treaty of Alliance in any peace conference, whether it is one or several, as well as in other international conferences. They would not approve of any matters in such conferences which might be contrary to the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Iran, and both governments would endeavour to make possible the participation of Iran in conferences and peace negotiations in so far as the interests of Iran are concerned.

2 — The Iranian Foreign Ministry in two notes of a similar tone dated 29 January 1942 and addressed to the Soviet Ambassador and British Minister, interpreting Article 2 of Chapter 6 of the Treaty of Alliance, gave both governments the assurance that the Iranian government would preserve no political relations with any country with which the British and Soviet governments had no political relations.

3 — The Soviet Ambassador and British Minister in notes of similar tones dated 29 January 1942 gave the Iranian government the assurance that:

- a) The Allied governments would make no demand on Iran for military assistance in any war or military operations against one or several other governments.
- b) The Tripartite Treaty of Alliance does not require the Iranian government to undertake the expenditure of any operations which the Allies have carried out for their own military purpose without any connection with the needs of Iran.

Two days after the exchange of the above letters, Foroughi, the Prime Minister in two notes of similar tone addressed to the Prime Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain, expressed his felicitations for the signature and ex-

change of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance, and hoped that it would lead to the strengthening of friendly relations and good understanding between Iran and their two governments, and that in future both Iran and the Allied governments would benefit greatly from mutual respect, mutual interests and co-operation in these relations.

In a letter dated 1st February 1942, Stalin, the Soviet Prime Minister, in answer to the note of the Iranian Prime Minister, expressed his congratulations on the conclusion of the treaty, and gave a strong assurance that the new Iran-Soviet alliance would consolidate the friendship between the two nations and would develop in the interests of both countries.

In another note dated the same day, Winston Churchill, the British Prime Minister, wrote to the Iranian Prime Minister that for the first time Iran, Soviet Russia and the United Kingdom had gathered together as confederates for a common objective and mutual interests. He concluded his letter by considering the efforts of the Iranian Prime Minister towards reaching understanding and providing the basis for the conclusion of the treaty as a good omen for the future.

### **Interpretation of the Treaty of Alliance**

The conclusion of the Treaty of Alliance between Iran and the Allies must certainly be considered a great political success for Iran in those critical days, in which the intelligence, wisdom and foresight of the King, and shrewdness and sagacity of the Iranian Prime Minister were a great safeguard in the drawing-up of the treaty in the interests of Iran. In this process much effort was made and much pain borne by the Shahinshah and the Foroughi government. Nevertheless to judge from a historical point of views certain points about the treaty cannot be overlooked.

Independence and sovereignty are the natural and

undeniable rights of every country, and Iran, in adopting the policy of neutrality in the Second World War, wished to enjoy this natural right. But the Allied governments, by their sudden invasion of Iranian territory, disregarded this neutrality, independence and sovereignty, and dealt a severe political blow to the political prestige of this country merely on the pretext of the presence of a few experts in an extensive land like Iran. They were well aware what undesirable consequences this sudden attack and the subsequent disorganisation of all discipline and security in Iran would have on the economic and political affairs of the country. After bringing Reza Shah and the Iranian government and people face to face with an accomplished fact, by means of a treaty which recognised the political independence and territorial integrity of Iran, that is to say, by recognising the natural and indisputable right of this country, they established control and supervision over all the economic potentialities of their ally. In fact Iran placed whatever she had at the disposal of the Allies against their undertaking to defend the frontiers of this country in case of a hypothetical and imaginary aggression by Germany or any other country.

With the exception of the recognition of the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran, many of the undertakings of the Allies in the Treaty of Alliance are vague, while those of Iran are clear, explicit and inevitable. For the Allies it was an unprecedented privilege to secure unlimited rights with respect to any form of military operations, the absolute use of all the lines of communication, means of transport, direct supervision and censorship over all roads and means of communication all of which were explicitly stated in the treaty; and the Allied governments obtained these privileges at a time when the Axis powers were at the height of their strength, and most people in the world, particularly those of the Middle East, considered the final victory of the Axis as certain and inevitable.

But the important points which, owing to the wisdom and foresight of the King, and the insight and sagacity of the Prime Minister, were included in the treaty in the future interests of Iran, are the contents of Chapter 5 and Article One of Chapter 6. Realising that the arrival and stay of the Allied forces in Iran, and the Allied use of all Iranian potentialities would entail many privations and disasters for this country and its people, Iran was willing to suffer these privations and tolerate numerous economic and political hardships, so that during the war and by the end of it, she would preserve her independence, sovereignty and national interests from the pillage of international profiteers who were ever-ready to bargain with each other over the possession and occupation of less powerful countries. This part of the Allied commitments in the Treaty of Alliance was expressed more explicitly; therefore it helped to appease the public mind to some extent in those critical days.

### **Formation of Political Parties**

When the reign of His Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah was proclaimed, in accordance with old customs and traditions a decree of amnesty was issued with regard to political prisoners, as a result of which a number of ultra-progressive leftists, who had been imprisoned during the reign of Reza Shah for propagating communistic views, were set free. Some of these individuals were organised by Mostafa Fateh, a high official of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, creating a nucleus of a new political party called the Iranian Tudeh Party. In September 1941 the founders of this party announced its coming into existence, declaring its policy of campaigning against Fascism. In this way it managed for some time to hide its real aims from the majority of people and even from many political and press circles in Iran, particularly as the central committee of this party chose for its head a man of good reputation, namely Soleiman Mohsen Eskandari, the famous leader of the former Democratic

Party who had deep religious convictions and believed in the Constitution and constitutional monarchy.

The Tudeh Party grew rapidly, and its first demonstration was held on 3rd February 1942 on the anniversary of the death of Dr. Taghi Erani, founder of the Communist party in the time of Reza Shah, and a full description of it was published by the newspaper "Mardom", organ of this party. So after years of silence and tranquillity, the contemporary generation in Iran was at once faced with new problems whose manifestations were attractive, at least for the younger generation, enlightened people and progressive reformists.

The rapid growth and expansion of the Tudeh Party was due to the following factors and causes:—

1 — The party was formed by those who had for many years been trained in the international school of communism, and were well-versed in the secrets of party organisation and propaganda. Its leaders began at once the work of training party staff, and giving instruction in party ideology. Moreover, they made use of Soviet experts in party matters who were freely engaged in activity in all the northern and north-western provinces of Iran, for the purpose of strengthening party organisations. The reason for the collaboration of the Soviet authorities with the Tudeh Party was that they were well aware of the nature and essence of that party, and Stalin considered it necessary to support that party for his own plan and purpose in the future.

2 — British diplomacy in those critical days, when Great Britain was subjected to the severest pressure from the German military organisation, considered it essential to sympathize and co-operate with any anti-fascist movement. The first nucleus of the Tudeh Party, as mentioned before, was formed by British agents and the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, and was well supported by the British authorities in its violent campaign against German and Italian fascism.

They even went so far as to employ in the Oil Company several influential members of the party, and render financial aid to the party papers. The Tudeh Party, in its earlier activity, managed to win the support and co-operation of both Allied governments, namely Soviet Russia and the United Kingdom, and to make use of the powers obtained by them through the Treaty of Alliance, for its own interest. The British support of the Tudeh Party continued for a long time, until after the war when owing to the conflicting interest of the Great Powers, particularly Soviet Russia and Great Britain, British diplomacy seemingly withdrew its support of that party, and left this task to Soviet Russia. But the truth is that Great Britain made use of the inner and outer circles of the party, namely the organisations, syndicates and institutions attached to that party, in order to preserve her own intellectual and political influence, and employed party members and elements who favoured the British policy, in any task which was found necessary. Thus within the Tudeh Party two distinct groups formed the two wings of the party: the communistic pro-Soviet group of left extremists, and the moderate socialists who were pro-British.

3 — The skilful propaganda of the Tudeh Party had a deep influence among the labouring classes which were suffering from economic hardships, and also among enlightened classes which were eager for drastic social and economic reforms; it attracted many workers, labourers, low-salaried teachers and discontented elements, following which propaganda the party took steps for organising workers. The number of syndicates grew rapidly, and the relationship between various units was established by a special committee which worked under the central committee of the party. Labour committees in Tehran and some industrial towns managed to have their regular organisations and even newspapers.

4 — The collaboration of a number of individuals

and elements who were suppressed in the time of Reza Shah, with the Tudeh Party was effective in its consolidation, particularly as many of the elements attached to the Kajar dynasty wishing to revenge themselves on the Pahlavi dynasty, other feudal landowners desirous of preserving their property, tribal chieftains wishing to establish their rule as chiefs, and negativists who ostentatiously wished to show themselves politicians, all joined this party.

The Tudeh Party, as the most powerful and well-organised party of that time, was able to go ahead without a rival in the field of politics in Iran. But as time went on, other parties came into existence, the most important of which was "Eradeh Melli Party" and "Edalat Party", both of which supported constitutional monarchy and believed in the preservation of the Iranian Constitution.

Although these two so-called right parties could not in the circumstances organise a man-power as strong as that of the Tudeh Party, or even rival that party in its press arguments, propaganda or demonstrations, nevertheless their existence paved the way for organising anti-Tudeh elements, and after a time new political groups appeared to oppose the Tudeh Party.

Among the new political groups which were on the whole in favour of social and economic reforms, those called "Peykar" and "Sumka" had somewhat Fascist tendencies, so they were suitable groups for campaign and propaganda against the Tudeh Party.

With the appearance of left and right groups and parties, press disputes reached a great height, and no person or authority in the government service or social and economic institutions was safe from the criticism and attacks of both left and right papers. It seemed as if the contemporary generation wished to make up for the silence and privations it had borne in political expression during the fifteen year's dictatorship of Reza Shah. Every literate person greedily read the contents of the papers and thoughtlessly expressed

his views of the political and social conditions in the country. In consequence of the increasing public attention to the press, writers and journalists gained an unprecedented influence, to such an extent that high government officials and even cabinet ministers and members of Parliament tried either to win favour with journalists in order to preserve their honour and prestige and to be safe from the charges and revilements of certain left and right members of the press; or to seek protection with one of or both of the Allied governments.

### **Arrival of U.S. forces in Iran**

The United States had been following a policy of neutrality at the commencement of the Second World War. But after the Axis powers had extended their military operations in the Pacific, in the waters of Western Europe, the Mediterranean, North Africa and then close to the American waters, she decided to render quick assistance to Great Britain and Soviet Russia through the enforcement of the Lend-lease Act, and finally on 7th December 1941 entered the War against the Axis, and soon after, its first naval unit entered Iranian waters in the Persian Gulf for collaboration with Great Britain in the transport of munitions and provisions to Russia via Iran, and for the maintenance of security in the Gulf and its naval communication with the Far East and South-east Asia.

The number of American forces in Iran increased in proportion to the expansion of the Allied military operations, so that by the end of 1942 it rose to 30,000 men, and gradually units of this army were garrisoned along the Iranian lines of communications and in the capital itself.

The United States had signed no treaty of alliance or such agreements with Iran, but since it had joined the Allies in the war against the Axis, the Iranian government which had signed the treaty of alliance with Great Britain and Soviet Russia, agreed to the entry of the U.S. forces

into Iran. The U.S. government in its turn agreed to carry out the commitments of the Tripartite Alliance with regard to Iran, and included Iran among the beneficiary states of the Lend-lease Act. From that time onward the scope of Irano-American collaboration was extended, and the British government gradually entrusted the American military authorities with the management of the affairs related to the transport of goods and munitions via Iran to Russia, and supervision over security zones and strategic points which had been under British control before the arrival of American forces.

One of the manifestations of the American co-operation with Iran was the establishment of co-operative centres and the despatch of foodstuffs and military stores for Iran; and as the bond of friendship between the United States and Iran became stronger in its various phases and the Allies were more firmly convinced of the good will of this country, a number of American fiscal and technical advisers were sent to various Iranian governmental institutions such as the Ministry of Finance, Police force, Health service and Agriculture.

### **Political and Economic difficulties**

During the war and for several years after the war ended, Iran was faced with many economic and political problems in consequence of the entry of Soviet, British and American forces into Iran, and their stay there. During all this time the Shahinshah had not a moment free from sorrow and sufferin, and continued his courageous campaign on various fronts against all destructive internal and external elements.

The various governments of Iran were always subjected to the heavy pressures and unbearable demands of the Allied authorities, and these cabinets constantly resorted to the King's wisdom and foresight for the solution of their problems. At critical moments it was the Shahinshah who

withstood the inopportune demands of the Allied authorities, and by discussion with the Allied leaders or their representatives he removed various obstacles in the way of Iranian governments.

The Allies, while referring to the question of aid to Iran and seemingly introducing themselves as the supporters of political stability in Iran, and knowing well that the presence of their forces in Iran was in itself the main factor of political chaos, constantly asked the responsible Iranian authorities to fight against this chaos and to prevent various demonstrations against one or both Allied governments. With this improper supposition that Iran was under the occupation of their joint forces, and inspite of the contents of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance, the British and Soviet authorities in various ways interfered in the internal affairs of Iran, and weakened the governments, and thus helped subversive elements to gain domination over the political affairs of the country. For example in the north, by Stalin's order the Russians refused to co-operate with the Iranian civil authorities, and brought that province under their political and military domination, and controlled the distribution of foodstuffs and primary needs of the people, and even prevented the transport of rice, fish and fruit from the northern provinces to the capital and other districts, and reserved them for the consumption of their own forces in Iran or for exportation to Soviet Russia.

The unsparing support given by the British and Soviet authorities to extremist parties of the left particularly the Tudeh Party, the establishment of direct secret contact with some members of the press, the provocation of the public mind through agents against responsible authorities and the triple powers of the Constitution, the inculcation of sharp leftist views by the British and Russians, the strengthening of reactionary elements by British agents, and the efforts made by both governments to weaken the position of the monarchy, all these factors augmented the

diversity of public opinion, created a greater discord, completed the mental agitation of the Iranian nation and, there was even the danger that the feigned scenes of ideological warfare and groundless demonstrations of the left and right parties often linked with biting and aspersive slogans, would damage the Iranian national unity to an irreparable degree. But fortunately the courage, perseverance and foresight of the King who was perfectly familiar with the course of international happenings and the causes and factors of the country's political confusion, overcame all these difficulties.

One of the Allied measures which they considered compatible with the exigencies of the war and in harmony with Allied and Iranian interests, was the arrest of a number of politicians, civil and military functionaries, members of the press and other Iranians who were accused of fascist tendencies. This collective arrest followed the detention of the German residents of Iran on the excuse of preventing all collusion and anti-Allied activities. But the truth was that the British and Soviet governments intended by this action to justify their cowardly invasion of Iran, to pretend that Iran had become an Axis base which had become truly dangerous to the Allies, and that these individuals were the German fifth column in Iran and an important factor of that government's political success in the Middle East. They meant by this that if their two governments had not invaded Iran and occupied it, the activity of this fifth column would one day have brought the German forces as far as the frontiers of Iran and would have blackened the outlook for the Allies.

Great Britain and Soviet Russia after arresting the German residents of Iran, sent them to concentration camps outside this country, and kept Iranian subjects who had been detained in their special camps in Arak and Rasht, in some cases for a period of over two years. It was in vain that the Iranian Foreign Ministry protested to the Allies

against the arrest of Iranian subjects. Making use of the old pretext of imaginary danger, they considered this step a military necessity even for the safety of Iran, and declared it to be a favour done to this country to save it from a great peril.

But the numerous economic difficulties resulting from the stay and operation of the Allied forces in Iran had a far-reaching effect in public life. On the one hand the monetary inflation caused by extensive Allied purchases in Iranian markets, greatly lowered the value of the rial, and led to a constant increase in the price of necessities, thereby diminishing the purchasing power of those with a low income who formed the great majority of the nation. On the other hand most of the foodstuffs and other necessities were bought wholesale by the Allies, causing a scarcity of such goods in the market, and this, coupled with the unfairness and wickedness of profiteers who rivalled each other in the purchase and hoarding of goods, made life full of hardship for the majority of Iranians.

The Allies, overlooking this inflation caused by the presence of their forces in Iran, put great diplomatic pressure on the Iranian government and demanded the circulation of considerable sums of bank-notes to meet the expenditure of their joint forces. Once they asked Ahmad Ghavam, then Prime Minister, to take this step without any regard for the laws, and when he answered that such an action was impossible, they increased their pressure and suggested that the government should secure legal ground for a fresh issue and circulation of bank-notes from the Parliament. Ghavam expressed a doubt that Parliament would ratify such a law. Then the Allied authorities resorted to the King, and one day the British ambassador asked for an audience, and on behalf of his government and those of the U.S.S.R. and the United States expressed his confidence in the Prime Minister, and declared that the Prime Minister could not accomplish anything with the present

Parliament, and then requested for the dissolution of the Parliament by a royal decree. The Shahinshah who, with an unshakable resolution, had always withstood any illegal demands of the Allies, reminded the British ambassador that only the King and nation could decide the question of dissolution, and foreigners had no right to interfere in the affairs of Iran.

The clear-cut reply of the King to the British ambassador led to demonstrations of seditious individuals in the capital at the instigation of British agents, causing a great deal of confusion in public life. Immediately the British forces which had evacuated Tehran, were sent back to the capital with the excuse of establishing order, but really to threaten Parliament to ratify the law for a fresh circulation of bank-notes.

The propaganda and instigations of the Tudeh Party agents among farmers had lowered the amount of agricultural production, and had deranged industrial production in various industrial units of the country. The organised workers of various syndicates were dragged to the scenes of demonstrations and meetings instead of being allowed to work in factories. The Allied who claimed to be true friends to Iran, were thinking of putting in requisition various arms and ammunition factories Iran, and the British had even resolved to seize the 155 mm guns belonging to the Iranian army, and the Russians intended to transfer to Russia the cartridge factories which had been established by Reza Shah.

The scarcity of foodstuffs and other necessities, particularly lump and ground sugar and textiles, forced the Iranian governments to establish the system of rationing for the consumption of the above materials. At the same time the problem of bread, which is the staple food for the majority of the Iranians, had become extremely difficult, and governments were forced to supervise its distribution. But as there was not a sufficient quantity of wheat avail-

able, this deficiency was made up for by using barley and similar cereals. Long queues of people could always be seen in centres of bread distribution, and many a long hour was spent to obtain a few loaves of black bread, while Polish refugees who had been transferred to Iran by Great Britain and Russia and lived in certain zones under the Allied protection, were given white bread of the best quality. In fact the Iranian nation generously and sincerely placed everything it had at the disposal of the Allies, and watched the injustice of the Allied authorities, and the violence and drunken brawls of some of the Allied soldiers in its own sacred home. This nation was suffering poverty, hunger and anxiety, so that the Allies might be comfortable and at ease, and attain their military and political objectives. Again, it was the Iranian nation which, inspite of indigence, showed hospitality and generosity through gifts of clothing, food and other necessities, to the Polish refugees who had become victims of the expansionist policy of powerful governments, and showed its sympathy to these homeless group in all kinds of ways.

#### **Iran's Declaration of War on Germany and adherence to the Allied Nations, Declaration**

On January Ist 1942 the plenipotentiaries of 26 countries of the world; namely: the United States, Great Britain, the U.S.S.R., China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costarica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, el Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Holland, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, the Union of South Africa and Yugoslavia met in Washington, the centre of the Federal government of the U.S.A., and signed a treaty of alliance against the Axis, and this treaty was later known as the Allied Nations' Declaration.

The substance of this treaty of alliance between these 26 states was to use all their economic and military resour-

ces against the Axis powers, and while collaborating with one another, to abstain from laying down arms or making a separate peace with the common enemy. The aim of the treaty was to defend liberty, independence, freedom of religion, protection of human rights and enforcements of justice in the 26 states and other countries of the world. It was these principles which became the foundation of the Allied Nations' Charter.

In a proclamation which followed the conclusion of this treaty of alliance it was stated that any other nations which had assisted or would assist in the Allied campaign against Hitlerism, could adhere to the said declaration; and as Iran had since August 1941 rendered valuable aid to the Allies with all sincerity and zeal, and had played a significant and effective part in the promotion of the Allied military and political objectives, and more than any other country deserved to be a member of the Allied Nations' Organisation, the Iranian government begged the Shahinshah to declare war on Germany and thereby adhere to the Allied Nations' Declaration; following which request, a formal declaration of war was made in the following terms:—

“With the help of God the Exalted

We

Mohammad Reza Pahlavi the Shahinshah of Iran

on the proposal of the government and in accordance with Article 51 of the Constitution, declare the state of war to exist between our kingdom and Germany, as from 8th September 1943.”

A few days before this declaration was made, on September 3rd 1943, notes of similar purport were sent to the Iranian Foreign Ministry by the British, Soviet and U.S. Embassies to the effect that if Iran entered the war against

one or more of the Axis governments she could adhere to the Allied Nations' Declaration, and in such a case no additional military or economic obligations to those already undertaken would be imposed on Iran, while Iran through such an adherence would benefit from the advantages which this assembly of nations could obtain after victory over the Axis, and would enjoy the same right as the said nations in all the peace conferences. Prime Minister Ali Soheili and his cabinet attended the meeting of Parliament on the same day, and informed the members of the contents of the proclamation, and in his brief speech referred to the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance and Iran's commitments in relation to the two governments, and finally proclaimed Iran's adherence to the Allied Nations' Declaration.

In the reign of Reza Shah, the policy of regional defence made it necessary for Iran to sign a treaty of alliance with Afghanistan, Turkey and Iraq; and as this treaty was signed in the summer palace of the King in Tehran, named Sa'd Abad, it was thereafter referred to as the Sa'd Abad Treaty. Although after the events of September 1941, and declaration of neutrality by Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance between Iran, Soviet Russia and Great Britain, the regional treaty of Sa'd Abad lost its importance, nevertheless on principle the Iranian Foreign Ministry invited the political representatives of Turkey, Iraq and Afghanistan to a discussion, and informed them of Iran's declaration of war on Germany, and sent the signatories of the Sa'd Abad treaty and representatives of other governments in Tehran copies of the royal proclamation and the government's declaration of adherence to the Allied Nations' Declaration. Subsequent to the events of September 1941, particularly after the signing of the Tripartite Treaty of Alliance, commercial and political relations had been severed between Iran and Germany, so the government's declaration of war was sent through the Foreign Ministry to the diplomatic representatives of Sweden and

Switzerland, the former having been nominated to safeguard German interests in Iran, and the latter to safeguard Iranian interests in Germany, requesting them to report to the German government. Thus the foreign policy of Iran during the war became clear, and this country formally joined the rank of the Allies.

### **Tehran Conference**

The important and effective part played by the Iranian highroad, which was in fact a vital artery for the Allies in the Second World War, became abundantly clear in promoting the common objectives of Britain, Russia and America by the end of the year 1943. The Germans failed to make a further advance on the Soviet front, and in many sectors of this front the defensive state of the Russian forces turned into an offensive one. The military power of Fascist Italy was smashed in July 1943, the military dictatorship of Mussolini collapsed, and its government headed by Badoglio joined the Allies and declared war on Germany.

The leaders of the great powers considered it necessary to hold a high conference to survey the results obtained from joint war efforts and to harmonise future efforts; so at Stalin's desire Tehran was chosen for this purpose. At this time Ali Soheili, Foroughi's Foreign Minister, was Prime Minister, and Mohammad Sa'ed was Foreign Minister. Guided by the Shahinshah, the Government, amidst the political convulsions and conflicts of the left and right and moderate parties, took the necessary steps to safeguard the wishes of the Allies in Tehran, and it was during this conference that the Iranian people once more showed their hospitality and generosity. No demonstration was held during the stay of the three leaders of Great Britain, Russia and America, and they marked the days waiting for the resolutions of this high council.

The 13th Parliament came to an end in November 1943. Electioneering preparations were made for the 14th

Parliament before the end of the 13th Parliament. The well-organised Tudeh Party and other leftist elements were making great efforts to secure seats in Parliament, and the authorities which were following British and Stalinist policies, were engaged in supporting candidates in various constituencies who were in favour of such policies. But when the conference met, electioneering contests temporarily came to a stand-still.

Before the Tehran conference met, the council of the Allied Foreign Ministers, namely British, Soviet and American, met from 19th to 31st October 1943 in Moscow, and at its conclusion an elaborate proclamation was signed and issued by the three governments concerning joint Allied measures in future war years and the post-war period. When Anthony Eden, the British Foreign Minister, was leaving for Moscow via Tehran, the Iranian Prime Minister gave a magnificent banquet in Tehran in honour of the British diplomats, and it was in this banquet that Mr. Eden in thanking the hospitality of the Iranians, made the following statement:—

“This time the traditional Iranian hospitality has gone beyond its usual limits. In England all the people are indebted to the invaluable assistance of Iran in achieving common objectives, and for many centuries have owed much to the advancement of fine arts, literature and the thinking power of Iran. It seems that Hitler has not read Sa'di's book in which he says: 'Human beings are all members of the same body, who have the same origin in creation'; otherwise he would not have fallen into the present predicament.”

The council of the three Foreign Ministers in Moscow discussed the questions which required reaching a definite decision, and made certain resolutions, while other problems related to the Allied joint efforts were referred to special committees, and still other questions were to be settled through diplomatic negotiations.

The Moscow conference in which for the first time in

the Second World War the Foreign Ministers and experts of the three great powers took part, paved the way for the subsequent meeting and discussion of the Allied leaders in Tehran. It was in the latter conference that mutual problems were discussed directly and without any intermediary by the U.S. President and the British and Soviet Prime Minister, and their agreements concerning past operations and future actions had a far-reaching effect on the destiny of the war.

The presence of the Allied leaders in Tehran was a suitable opportunity for the far-sighted Shahinshah to meet them and discuss the questions related to Iran in war and post-war years, and acquaint them with the political and economic difficulties of those days which were the direct results of war and the arrival of the Allied forces in Iran.

Once in the summer of 1942 before the Tehran conference, when Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, was leaving for Moscow via Tehran for a meeting with Stalin, the Shahinshah met him and it was during this meeting that the King with extraordinary intelligence and foresight suggested the manner of Allied victory over the Axis by an Allied invasion of Italy. Mr. Churchill expressed no opinion concerning the King's suggestion in that meeting, but the Allies chose the Italian front or what they called the "soft spot" for penetrating into the European continent and the Axis defence lines. In fact the sound judgement of the King of Iran about Allied strategy was eventually carried out.

When the Allied leaders were in Tehran, the King met every one of them. Roosevelt expressed his deep interest in the culture and civilisation of Iran and stated that at the termination of the presidency he would come to Iran as an expert on reafforestation and serve this country. Stalin showed perfect civility in this meeting, and in order to leave a pleasant memory in the King's mind, declared the Soviet government's intention of presenting Iran with a tank regiment of T. 34 and a squadron of fighting planes. In view of the military weakness of Iran the king wished to accept

Stalin's proposal, but it became evident a few weeks later that the presentation of such a gift involved difficult conditions, and its acceptance was contrary to prudence.

The Pars Agency, on the strength of a report which the British agency had published in Cairo, in December 1943, reported that a few days before that date President Roosevelt, Marshal Chiangkai-Shek and Mr. Churchill had, in a conference in Cairo, drawn up and completed a plan of Allied victory in the Pacific, and after five days of discussion had left for an unknown destination. The publication of this news came at the time of the Tehran conference, when it had spent two days of its life. In the latter half of November 1943 the Soviet Chargé d'affaires in Tehran visited Soheili, Iranian Prime Minister, and informed him of the decision to hold a conference of the Allied leaders in Tehran. Marshal Stalin and his attendants came overland by railway, and arrived in Tehran on November 24th, and President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill and their attendants arrived the following day by plane from Cario, and the conference lasted four days.

On November 29th 1943 Mohammad Sa'ed, Iranian Foreign Minister, sent memoranda of a similar purport to Molotov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, Eden, British Foreign Minister, and Dreyfus, U.S. Minister in Tehran who was acting in the place of Mr. Hull, U.S. Foreign Secretary, and in these memeoranda reminded them of the efforts made by Iran in the way of the Allied victory and the hardships suffered by this country as a result of the war and Iran's collaboration with the Allies, and expressed the sincere wishes of the Iranian nation for the decisive and final victory of the Allied nations.

Three points were mentioned in this memorandum:—

- 1 — The Allies should bear in mind the inconvenience and damage suffered by Iran on account of war conditions.
- 2 — The written undertakings and verbal assurances

given by the Allies concerning the independence and territorial integrity of Iran should be reinforced by material and intellectual assistance in political and economic fields.

- 3 — The Allies should, in accordance with their commitments, hand over the management of the country which they had hitherto assumed and entrust security tasks to the disciplinary forces of Iran itself.

In conclusion the Iranian Foreign Minister expressed the expectations of the Iranian government and people from the Allied leaders in the following terms:—

“The Iranian government and people expect the leaders of the Three Great Powers who are staying in Tehran now, to confirm the above points by means of a declaration, and in this way to stipulate the good will which they have repeatedly expressed, both verbally and in writing, concerning Iran.”

During the stay of the Allied leaders in Tehran, Ali Soheili, Iranian Premier, and Mohammad Sa'ed, Foreign Minister, had meetings and discussions with Molotov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, Eden, British Foreign Secretary, and General Horley, special envoy of the U.S. President in Tehran, as a result of which a sound and firm basis was found for the relations of Iran with the three governments, and the publication of the results of these discussions was pleasing to the people of Iran. This satisfaction reached its height when the declaration of the three powers was published concerning Iran, and the nation was reassured that at the conclusion of war the Allies, in accordance with their undertakings and the substance of this Tehran declaration, would leave Iran and respect the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of this country.

The text of the declaration dated 1st December 1943 is as follows:

“The President of the United States, the Premier of

the U.S.S.R., and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, having consulted with each other and with the Prime Minister of Iran, desire to declare the mutual agreement of their three Governments regarding their relations with Iran.

The Governments of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom recognise the assistance which Iran has given in the prosecution of the war against the common enemy, particularly by facilitating the transportation of supplies from overseas to the Soviet Union.

The Three Governments realize that the war has caused special economic difficulties for Iran, and they are agreed that they will continue to make available to the Government of Iran such economic assistance as may be possible, having regard to the heavy demands made upon them by their world-wide military operations and to the world-wide shortage of transport, raw materials, and supplies for civilian consumption.

With respect to the post-war period, the Governments of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom are in accord with the Government of Iran that any economic problems confronting Iran at the close of the hostilities should receive full consideration, along with those of other members of the United Nations, by conferences or international agencies held or created to deal with international economic matters.

The Governments of the United States, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom are at one with the Government of Iran in their desire for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran. They count upon the participation of Iran, together with all other peace-loving nations, in the establishment of international peace, security

and prosperity after the war, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter, to which all four Governments have subscribed.

(Signed) Winston Churchill

J.V. Stalin

Franklin D. Roosevelt

The Allied leaders left Tehran by plane for their countries on September 1st, and at the same time the declaration of the Tehran conference which had eagerly been awaited by the whole world, was reported by the British, American and Soviet News agencies. In this declaration, the Allied leaders had referred to their meetings and discussions in Tehran, and expressed their resolute determination to continue to victory the war against the Axis and their satellite states, and ended it with these words:—

“We came to Tehran full of hope and determination, and leave this place in truly perfect friendship in spirit and intention.”

After the departure of the Allied leaders from Tehran and the publication of the formal declaration by the News agencies of the three countries, there was no longer any need to keep the proceedings of the conference secret. In a banquet given at the Foreign Office four days later by Ali Soheili and attended by the British and American Ministers and the Soviet Chargé d’Affaires, Soheili read out the text of the declaration concerning Iran, and soon after the contents and details of the proceedings of the conference were placed at the disposal of home and foreign agencies, and the whole world learnt of that historical event which undoubtedly had a far-reaching influence on the destiny of the Allies and the Axis. In this banquet the Prime Minister’s speech was followed by the speeches of the Allied representatives in which they expressed gratitude to the Iranian nation for its hospitality and sincerity, and to the Shahinshah for his good will. Dreyfus, the U.S. Minister made the

following statements:—

“ In this cross-road of history, East and West met to plan the foundation of world peace and liberty. We must admit that in this holy war against war to safeguard peace, immortal Iran has had a great share, and your beautiful country with its glorious past and the services it has rendered the world of learning and culture, has once more secured the position worthy of it, and it was in your hospitable and charming land that our great leaders succeeded in uniting their thoughts and intentions in order to carry out the noble objectives which they have the honour to preserve and defend until final victory is achieved.”

The Tehran municipality formally named three of the avenues in the vicinity of the American, Soviet and British Embassies after the three leaders, namely Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill, to commemorate their short stay in Tehran, and at the conclusion of the ceremonies in which the diplomatic representatives of the said governments were present, plates were affixed to their places in these avenues. In this ceremony, the British ambassador, addressing the mayor of Tehran, said.

“ I hope that whenever, not only the present generation of Iran but their descendants and offsprings, look at these street names which are newly named, they will consider this conference as a great landmark in the war and will regard it as full of joy and happy consequences.”

The hope and expectation of the British diplomatic representative in connection with a great change in the Second World War, were fulfilled, and the way was paved for the final victory of the Allies. But unfortunately the Iranian nation, contrary to the hopes of the British ambassador and the explicit promises of the Allies concerning Iran, and with all the sacrifice and chivalry shown by it, at the conclusion of the war witnessed the ungenerous behaviour of

some of its Allies, and if it had not been for the wisdom, moral courage and realism of the king, making good use of opportunities offered to help the nation in critical moments, all its hopes and expectations concerning the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the country would have been brought to nought.

### **The 14th Parliament and Party activities**

The preliminary steps for the election of the 14th Parliament had been taken prior to the Tehran conference of the Allied leaders, and election contests were in progress. When the conference met, these contests were temporarily suspended and then resumed at its conclusion. Followers of the Stalinist policy, inspite of their promises of non-interference in the affairs of Iran, and through pre-arranged plans openly supported the candidates of the Tudeh Party and interfered in the elections of the northern provinces which were under the direct occupation of the Soviet forces. In consequence of this diplomatic Stalinist support, six of the Tudeh candidates in Azarbeyejan, Gilan and Mazandaran and two of Khorassan gained a majority of votes, and another candidate was elected in Isfahan which is an industrial town.

As against these 9 Tudeh members, a considerable majority of the members of Parliament consisted of moderates and parties of the right and landowners and feudal lords. This Parliament was opened by the King on 26 February 1944 and at once began to verify the credentials of the members. The credentials of Seyyed Jafar Pishevari, the Tudeh candidate of Tabriz were rejected by a majority of votes, while the other eight Tudeh members who had found their way into Parliament formed an independent faction there. The Parliament had a quorum in March 1944, and Ali Soheili resigned office on March 16. Mohammad Sa'ed, Foreign Minister in Soheili's cabinet, was nominated Prime Minister, and his cabinet was introduced on 26 March 1944. He himself, took charge of the Foreign Ministry and his cabinet lasted until

October 1944.

The 14th Parliament was one of the most tumultuous sessions, and the well-organised Tudeh faction in Parliament violently carried through its programme of opposition, questioning and severe criticism of the government for the sake of party interests. Most of the Tudeh members of Parliament were influential members of the central committee of that party, and finding their way into Parliament and making use of the parliamentary tribune was considered a great success for that party for the following reasons:—

1 — The presence of a Tudeh parliamentary faction was displayed by that party to simple-minded and credulous people who included the majority of workers and discontented elements in the country, as a decisive evidence of the lawfulness of that party and legitimacy of its aims. .

2 — The penetration of 8 influential members of the Tudeh Party into Parliament increased the boldness of that party with regard to the measures dictated by the central committee, and most of the party members believed that their parliamentary faction would protect them in committing the greatest crimes, against all prosecution and punishment.

3 — The Tudeh party through its parliamentary faction openly propagated its aims and views, and these members took much of the Parliament's time, and by their demagogical speeches which were afterwards published in all the left, right and moderate papers, attracted a great many people in Tehran and provinces to their ranks.

4 — The programme of the Tudeh parliamentary faction was to oppose the existing government violently. Hence their interruption and repeated questioning from which no government felt secure, and whenever the Parliament wished to consider an important matter it was hindered by the uproar and obstruction of this faction and certain other individual members who had Tudeh tendencies.

Although the attempts of the Tudeh parliamentary

faction, and their street demonstrations and meetings in Tehran and some other towns attracted the attention of a great number of common people and a few enlightened men, nevertheless they could not in the least shake the firm resolution of the King in his campaign against the causes and agents of all political confusions in the country. Each Prime Minister remained a few months in office to face these confusions, and then gave way to another, so that between March 1944 and January 1945, that is, a period of less than two years, five Prime Ministers held office, and five cabinets were introduced to the Parliament. The instability of governments, coupled with the political pressures and unbearable demands of the Allies, and their occasional military interference in some of the unpleasant internal happenings of Iran, proved once again that during the twenty-five centuries of Iranian history monarchy and kingship are the truest and firmest point of reliance for the people of this country.

### **The Question of Oil Concession in the North**

The expansionist policy of Joseph Stalin turned its attention during the year 1944 to the question of securing oil concessions in the north of Iran. Kaftaradzé, Assistant Foreign Commissar of the Stalin government came to Tehran with the proposal to secure a concession for the exploitation of the oil fields of the north for the Soviet government on the basis of 51 percent of the revenues for his government and 49 percent for Iran.

When Kaftaradzé's proposal met the resistance of the Iranian government he gave the alarm through the Tudeh party leaders who were forced to obey Stalin's instructions peremptorily. On October 27th 1944 the first demonstrations of the Tudeh party were held in Tehran in support of granting oil concessions in the north to the Stalin government, while the demonstrators were accompanied by trucks full of Red soldiers. Thus the Iranians understood the true

nature of the Tudeh party, and from behind the deceptive screen of their apparently main aim, that is "supporting monarchy and the Constitution", their true role of Xenophilism became evident to the people.

Stalin's aim in bringing up the question of oil concessions was to make the Iranian government accept it and thereby to secure a permanent base for his expansionist policy in Iran, and if any resistance was shown by the Iranian government, to accuse it of discrimination on the excuse of having given a concession to the British in the south, and charge it with hostile intentions towards the Stalin government, and use this excuse for carrying out his real intentions in the future.

In spite of the tumult created by the Tudeh faction, the 14th Parliament approved with urgency a project submitted by several distinguished members, according to which the government was deprived of the right of all negotiation with any foreign power for granting oil concessions, and it was declared by the Parliament that if the Soviet government needed oil, the Iranian government itself would undertake its extraction and would give the Soviet government priority in the purchase of oil products.

### **Iran at the End of the Second World War**

The Second World War came to an end with the final defeat of Germany and surrender of Japan in the Far East on the 15th August 1945. According to the Treaty of Alliance between Iran and Soviet Russia and Great Britain, which had been accepted by the U.S. government too, the Allied forces were to leave Iranian territory by February 1945 at the latest; and according to other agreements reached between Iran and the Allies concerning monetary payments and other financial matters, the said governments were in duty bound to make payments in gold to Iran for receiving sums in rials to provide for their expenditure in Iran, and for the damage done to the railways, roads, means

of transport etc. during the war and the stay of their forces in Iran.

The nation, having tolerated the hardships and privations of the war, was overjoyed to hear on the radio on 16 August 1945 from its vigilant and just king the good news of the cessation of hostilities.

Six days after, that is, on 22 August 1945, in a banquet given by the Imperial Court for the termination of the war, the King's statements, which were published in the press, gave the afflicted nation a new hope for the future. Here is the gist of His Majesty's words on the radio:—

“We all know what wounds and injuries have been inflicted on the world by the War, and what efforts are needed to make up for them. Now that this great fire has been extinguished, and we have attained our objective in establishing peace and tranquility, I gladly participate in this celebration and express my felicitations to all nations particularly the Five Great Powers, and bring tidings of joy and happiness to the Iranian nation which has had a share in this great struggle and has emerged proudly and victoriously.”

And here is a part of his Majesty's speech at the Imperial Court banquet:

“Iran is proud to have co-operated for the success of its great Allies and all the Allied nations within the limits of the means at its disposal. We feel certain that the life and wealth which have been sacrificed unsparingly in this way will lead to the establishment of a lasting peace under the auspices of the United Nations' Organisation and will safeguard the respect for the rights of all nations, great or small, strong or weak.”

The king's words, which were inspired by his universal outlook and humanitarian sentiments, deeply touched the spirit and heart of the Iranian nation. Past hardships and suffering were forgotten, and a new hope was awaken-

ed for the assistance and collaboration of the Allies with Iran. The nation felt sure that the Allies, particularly Great Britain and Soviet Russia, in view of its cooperation and sacrifice during the war, would make compensations for the damage done to this country; and if, in view of the hardships and difficulties created for the Allies themselves, they could not co-operate effectively and extensively with Iran, at least they would not create new obstacles and fresh difficulties for this country, and would let this people free to make an effort under the leadership of their wise and patriotic monarch to repair the damage done during the war.

The Iranian nation could never understand this bitter and painful truth that immediately after the war the Allies of yesterday would stand in two camps facing each other, and each would adopt its special method of preserving its political and economic interests, and altogether forget the sacrifices made by Iran. But the enlightened and far-sighted king who was well-versed in international affairs, had foreseen this reality, and one month after the cessation of hostilities, in an interview with a Reuter agent, explained the importance of the United Nations' Organisation and prerequisites for the establishment of world peace in the following words:—

“The existence of the United Nations' Organisation is a source of confidence in the future, and now the preservation of world peace and everything in general depends on whether the great Allied nations can live together in a friendly manner, and believe in preventing further bloodshed.”

The King of Iran is a perfect symbol of a philanthropic Oriental nation, who possesses a fine self-sacrificing and generous soul. He helped to lay the foundations of peaceful co-existence between various political regimes in the world, and always looked at the turbulent post-war world with a wide and universal outlook. The nation, too, relied on its wise king, and always followed its philanthro-

pic leader. This nation knew well that it had no particular political or economic interest in the Second World War, and had been dragged in by violence and force of circumstances, had faced many difficulties and privations, and now it hoped that the great Allied powers would take a step in allaying the pains and sufferings of the war, and continue their war-time collaboration so that small nations like Iran would, through their own effort and such a collaboration, overcome the political and economic difficulties caused by the war.

The British and American forces left Iran by the end of the time fixed for evacuation. But Stal in who at the termination of the war saw the necessity of withdrawing his forces by that date, chose to consider the rejection of the proposals for granting oil concessions in the north as a "hostile treatment" of his government by the government of Iran, and incited the Tudeh leaders to fresh activity, this time to sabotage, intrigue and homicide. A landowner was foully murdered in Azarbayejan by the direct command of the Tudeh central committee; in Khorassan several misled officers began to show disobedience, and prepared for a mutiny against the legal government of Iran, but fortunately this riot ended with defeat. In Gilan, Mazandaran, Isfahan, Khuzestan and Tehran Tudeh agents were engaged in violent agitations to such an extent that there were several collisions between them and the disciplinary forces of the country. Military authorities were forced to seize the central club of the party and prevent the publication of its papers.

Exactly at the moment when the Tudeh party considered itself at the height of its power, and its leaders were thinking of seizing the reins of power in their hands, and their parliamentary faction had turned the Parliament into a platform for their fiery speeches, Stalin had become aware of the fact that the Tudeh party could do nothing against the majority of the Iranians who were deeply attached to their national traditions and customs and religion,

and are faithful to their monarch and their regime. The realisation of this fact led to the drawing-up of a new plan by Stalin and his followers to achieve their expansionist aims in Iran, a detailed account of which will be given in the next chapter of this book.

## Chapter Two

### **Critical Years 1945-53** **1 - Action against Iran's** **Territorial Integrity**

#### **Democratic Party of Azarbeyejan**

Lenin had said that revolution is not an exportable commodity, but Stalin wanted to show that not only can revolution be exported, but also that its exportation is simpler and easier than any other commodity. This manner of thinking made the head of the Soviet government resort to the export of revolution after despairing of the Iranian Tudeh party. Seyed Jafar Pishevari, the man whose credentials had been rejected by the 14th Parliament began by Stalin's order to form a new party called the Democratic party of Azarbeyejan, which had no root among the noble and liberal people of that province, and was supported only by Stalinist policy.

This party was a ridiculous party of spontaneous generation, and its formation was contrary to the principles of party creation. So much haste was used in its creation

that the Tudeh branch of Azarbajejan found no time to report its adherence to it to the Tudeh central committee in Tehran. This adherence was effected by the direct order of Stalin's agents in Azarbajejan, and with such lightning speed that the central committee was amazed, and its leaders who knew nothing of this unpleasant truth, expressed their disapproval of the step taken by the provincial branch, in its formal manifesto.

The action of the Tudeh provincial branch made two points clear:—

1 — This step which was taken without the permission of the central committee and by the explicit command of Stalin's agents, proved once more that the Tudeh leaders in Iran had not been able to play their part in carrying out the treacherous diplomacy dictated by the Stalinist policy. They were thenceforth obliged to seek the protection of the Decocratic party inspite of all their regular organisations.

2 — Men of insight and perhaps it can be said the majority of Iranian patriots became acquainted with the true nature of Stalin's diplomacy which had hidden itself behind the screen of events in Azarbajejan, but better than anyone else it was the courageous, loyal and royalist men of that province who discovered this bitter truth, and it was for this reason that even from the very beginning of the creation of the Democratic party and inspite of their deceptive programmes of reform, numerous societies came into existence to fight against the wicked designs of the leaders of this party in Azarbajejan, Tehran and other towns.

The programme of this party consisted of the establishment of an autonomous government for Azarbajejan with its own cabinet and parliament, replacing Persian with Turkish as the official language, granting absolute authority to the cabinet for the administration of the internal affairs of Azarbajejan including finance, education, the army and other institutions. Although in this programme no open statement was made concerning the separation of

Azarbajejan from Iran, yet this plan was clear from the wicked propaganda of that party. This propaganda began with abusing everything Iranian and Persian-speaking, and continued criticising the legal government of Iran, and accused it of having trampled upon the rights of the people of Azarbajejan and thoroughly exploited and crushed them. A man named Biria, who later became Minister of Education of the so-called Autonomous Government of Azarbajejan and was rather poetically-minded, plaintively asked the river Aras in one of his odes why it had separated Azarbajejan from Russia!

This so-called autonomous government headed by Pishevari met in Tabriz on 12 December 1945, and under the unsparing protection of Stalin's men undertook armed operations, and having been supplied with arms and weapons by the agents of the Soviet dictator, they attacked the Iranian army garrisons in Azarbajejan. The commanders of these garrisons who were faced with motorised Red forces and arms and men, found it expedient to surrender in order to avoid a clash with the Red army. A number of devoted and patriotic officers were arrested and imprisoned by the party agents. In some areas, in consequence of the gallant resistance put up by the gendarmerie garrisons, Stalin's agents and party makers cruelly massacred the garrison to the last man. These treacherous deeds roused a wave of wrath and hatred in the whole country against this party.

The government of Ebrahim Hakimi (the second cabinet) which had taken office on 31st October 1945, despatched reinforcements by the command of the Shahinshah to Azarbajejan to suppress the rebels, but the Soviet Red Army was instructed by the Soviet dictator to stop the Iranian army reinforcements at Sharif-abad near Kazvin. He deprived the government of Iran of all authority to take steps against the democratic rebels, and paved the way for the tyrannical operations of the "Autonomous Government" which was an artificial and unripe form of the post-war

governments of Eastern Europe. Thus the Russian frontiers were opened for the insurgent faction, and the communication between the Iranian disciplinary forces and Azarbajejan was forcibly cut off.

The Democratic party of Azarbajejan made use of psychological tactics to win individuals. Its leaders knew that the oppressive system of husbandry had for long overshadowed the villagers in Iran, and had created obsessions and hatreds amongst farmers against their masters, big land-owners and feudal lords. The maltreatment and violence shown by some of the gendarmerie units, too, which considered it their duty only to preserve the interests of landowners, had intensified this hatred and discord. Therefore the misleading propaganda of these party-makers was mainly concentrated on simple countrymen who were suffering poverty and privations in the extensive estates of those landlords. Thus on the strength of this propaganda which promised them a comfortable life, a division of cultivated land between farmers and the abolition of illiteracy, a number of farmers joined the Democratic party, and took up arms by the order of its leaders and were drilled in military exercises. Meanwhile a great number of these landowners saved their cash and precious articles and lives from this danger and most of them hastened to the capital, while other landowners found it more convenient to live in harmony with the party leaders, and thereby rescue their lives and property from harm. Then the "Autonomous Government of Azarbajejan" which was the product of the treason of a selfish and ambitious group, supported by those who for the above reasons or for fear of torture and punishment had submitted to such a shame and disgrace, called itself a "national government" supported by the people of Azarbajejan, and asked the central government to endorse what had taken place, and recognize the autonomy and internal independence of the insurgent government.

## **The Kumla Faction**

The vast territory which extends between the Rezayeh Lake in Iran, and the Van Lake in Turkey, and the middle Tigris in Iraq is the home of the Kurdish tribes of Iranian origin. The Kurdish inhabitants of Iran are among the most loyal sentinels of Iranian territory; that is why the diplomatic efforts of Great Britain at the end of the First World War to create an independent Kurdish government failed because of the loyalty and patriotism of Iranian Kurds, and this incident was forgotten in the course of time.

Stalin intended to create a supposedly independent Kurdish republic in the whole of the Kurdish territory of the Middle East in order to secure a base for the Soviet penetration of Asia. So he despatched his agents to the western border of Iran which is the home of Iranian Kurds and with the support of the Democratic party of Azarbajejan, the Tudeh agents and a number of Kurdish chieftains who were the remainders of the suppressed rebels of the time of Reza Shah, created a faction called Kumla (which in local Kurdish dialect meant 'crowd of people') and a puppet government similar to the "Autonomous government of Azarbajejan". This government proclaimed itself on 12 December 1945, and refused to obey the central government. The Kurdish patriots who suspected Kumla and its government, had to surrender to prevent a clash with the Red army, but as soon as the Iranian government forces advanced towards Azarbajejan, they rose in support of the army and central government.

## **Government Reaction**

The first reaction of Hakimi's government against the events in Azarbajejan was to send a note of protest on His Majesty's instruction to Moscow against the operations of the Red army in checking the advance of Iranian reinforcements towards Azarbajejan. This note, together with

the notes of protests submitted to the Stalin government by the United States and Great Britain, were considered in a conference of the Foreign Ministers of the three Allied governments of Soviet Russia, Great Britain and the United States from 12 to 27 December 1945. James Byrnes, U.S. Foreign Secretary considered the Iranian protest justifiable, and endeavoured to win the Soviet Foreign Commissar's agreement to consider the Iranian case, but his efforts failed. Finally Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, proposed that a committee of the representatives of the three governments should consider the general condition of Iran, and privately settle the question of Azarbeyjan.

Hakimi informed the Parliament of the proposal of the conference of Foreign Ministers which had been communicated by the American and British ambassadors in Tehran to His Imperial Majesty. The Parliament rejected it. Hakimi, in a speech made in Parliament on 15 January 1946, declared that Iranian delegates to the United Nations' Organisation had been instructed to submit the Question of Iran to U.N.O., and in accordance with its constitution make the necessary applications to the Security Council.

The head of the Iranian delegation in the U.N., in a letter to the U.N. Secretary General dated 19 January 1946 asked in accordance with Article 35 of the United Nations' Charter that the question of Iran should be considered by the Security Council. The Security Council, after hearing the statements of the Iranian and Soviet delegates, issued a manifesto on 30 January 1946 recommending the Iranian and Soviet governments to solve their differences by direct discussion, and to report the result to the Council.

On January 20th 1946 Hakimi resigned, and Ahmad Ghavam, the new Premier, introduced his cabinet to the Parliament on January 28, and in a telegram to Stalin declared his willingness to go to Moscow for direct negotiation with the Soviet authorities. Stalin expressed his satisfaction at this decision and Ghavam and his attendants left for Moscow. Ghavam's trip to the Soviet capital took place at

a time when Iran's complaint against the Stalin government's interference in the affairs of Iran was on the agenda of the Security Council, and only a few days were left of the life of the 14th Parliament, and the latest date for the departure of Soviet forces from Iran expired on March 2nd 1946.

During the discussion of Ghavam with Stalin and Molotov, Soviet Foreign Commissar, which lasted from 19 February to 8 March 1946 in Moscow, Molotov submitted the following proposals to the Iranian Prime Minister:—

- 1 — The Red army would remain in some districts of Iran for an indefinite time.
- 2 — The Iranian government would recognise the internal independence of Azarbajejan, and Azerbayejan Prime Ministers would, in their relations with the central government of Iran, act as Governor-generals of that province. Azarbajejan would not have a Ministry of Education or Foreign Ministry, and its commander-in-chief of the forces would be appointed by the central government. 30 percent of the taxes in Azarbajejan would be paid to the central government. The official language in the schools, courts and local administrative offices would be Turkish, but all correspondence with the Iranian government would be in Persian.
- 3 — The Soviet government would waive the question of oil concessions, but a joint Irano-Soviet company would be formed to extract oil in the north. In the first 25 years, 51 percent of the shares would belong to Soviet Russia and 49 percent to Iran, and in the next 25 years, each party would have 50 percent of the shares.

The 2nd of March 1946 arrived, and while all Iranian patriots and particularly the Shahinshah impatiently waited for Stalin to fulfil his promise, Stalin informed Ghavam who was still in Moscow that the Red army would quit Khorassan and Semnan areas, but would remain in other provin-

ces of the occupied north. That evening the Soviet forces quitted Tabriz, but instead of taking the route for the Soviet frontier, they advanced in three columns towards Tehran, the frontiers of Iraq and the Turkish borders, followed within a few weeks by fresh units of tanks and infantry from other parts of Iran. At the same time Stalin, to supplement his military manouvres, concentrated other well-equipped units along the frontiers of the European Turkey, namely on the frontiers of Turkey with Bulgaria, which was at that time under the direct control and occupation of Soviet forces, and began an extensive programme of propaganda and political measures in order to threaten Turkey.

The commitments which Ghavam, contrary to his own desire and to Iranian interests, had undertaken towards Stalin, were never approved by the Shahinshah who in very unfavourable conditions carefully watched the events and endeavoured to find a remedy. Stalin had asked Ghavam to withdraw the Iranian complaint to the U.N.O. But Hossein Ala, Iranian ambassador in Washington and Iranian envoy to UNO who knew that the King did not approve of the withdrawal of the Iranian complaint, reported the failure of the direct negotiations with Soviet Russia to the Security Council. He attended the meeting of the Council on 21st March 1946, and eloquently and effectively submitted the Iranian complaint against the Stalin government. This was the first complaint made by one of the Allied countries against another Allied government in UNO. On the same day an ultimatum was sent by Harry Truman, U.S. President to Stalin concerning the evacuation of Iran by the Red Army; and the American delegate in the Security Council supported the Iranian delegate. The Council continued to discuss the question of Iran, and finally André Gromyko, amidst the amazement of the members of the Council and the audience, declared in another meeting of the Security Council that the Soviet forces would leave Iranian territory within five or six weeks provided nothing unexpected happened.

Stalin's conditional agreement to the evacuation of Iran, as declared by Gromyko to the Security Council, had two reasons:—

- 1 — This agreement would reduce the tension in Iran and the wide dissatisfaction roused in the free world concerning the Russian Stalinist diplomacy in Iran, and would give him an opportunity of obtaining the concessions which he had imposed on the Iranian Premier, during his Moscow discussions.
- 2 — Stalin hoped that by means of securing the oil concessions in northern Iran, and the unlimited and unconditional freedom given to the Tudeh party, and the compromising and leftist attitude of Ghavam, there would be time for the autonomous government of Azarbajejan to establish itself, and gradually extend its influence over all the northern provinces of Iran.

The 14th Parliament came to an end on the 12th March 1946, and the legislative interregnum lasted until 16 July 1947. Ahmad Ghavam who was following a particular home and foreign policy, asked the king to give him perfect freedom in managing the affairs of the country in the absence of the legislative body. To preserve the interest of the country and nation, the King agreed to this within certain limits. On 4 April 1946 Ghavam signed an agreement with Ivan Sadichikov, the new Soviet ambassador in Tehran, which was published as a joint communiqué, in the following terms:—

"The discussions which began in Moscow between the Iranian Prime Minister and the Soviet authorities, and continued in Tehran after the arrival of the Soviet ambassador came to the following conclusions on 4 April 1946, and agreement was reached in all matters:

- 1 — The Red army units will evacuate Iranian terri-

tory on Sunday the 2th March 1946.

- 2 — The agreement for the formation of a joint Iranian-Soviet Oil Company, and its conditions will be submitted to the 15th Parliament for approval within seven months as from 24 March 1946.
- 3 — Concerning Azarbeyejan, as this is an internal question, a peaceful arrangement will be made in accordance with the existing laws and in a public-spirited manner for the people of Azarbeyejan between the government and the people of that province.”

After signing this agreement, Ghavam set free the Tudeh clubs and press, and began a friendly correspondence with the autonomous government of Azarbeyejan, and followed this policy of surrender to the Stalinist diplomacy to such a point that he asked the King to permit the return of the treacherous officers who had joined Pishevari into the Iranian army service. In addition to this he requested that those persons who had been commissioned as officers by Pishevari, should be admitted into the army. But against this insistence of the Prime Minister, the King declared that he would rather cut off his own arm rather than sign such a decree.

Ahmad Ghavam, in accordance with his undertakings to Stalin, did not only give perfect liberty of action to the Tudeh elements, but in his reshuffling of the cabinet he brought in three of the Tudeh leaders on 4 August 1946. At this time on the invitation of Ghavam, Pishévari came to Tehran as the head of the autonomous government of Azarbeyejan, and magnificent receptions were held in his honour, in which cups were raised by the Democratic, Tudeh and Iran party leaders (a moderate party with leftist inclinations) to each other's health. Shortly after, Ghavam visited Tabriz, and formally recognised most of the political and social transformations effected by the government of the Democ-

ratic party. Thus patriots and enlightened Iranians were faced with such events and circumstances which might have led to the dismemberment and perhaps to the destruction of the independence and territorial integrity of Iran.

### **A Resolute Decision**

Following the departure of the Soviet forces from Iran, the satellite government of Azarbajejan and Tudeh agents in Iran began their intense activity throughout Iran. Tabriz Radio became the focus of propaganda against the territorial integrity of Iran, and the management of the affairs of the good people of Azarbajejan fell into the hands of such mean creatures as Gholam Yahya and Biria, and the baseness of the Democratic party and its puppet government reached such a point that an illiterate cart-driver named Zolfali became Chief of Police of Zanjan.

The instigations of the Tudeh party in support of the Democratic party and Pishévari government, for the purpose of creating confusion and chaos in the industrial parts of Iran such as Mazandaran, Gilan, Isfahan and Abadan rose to a great height, and produced such incidents as the fearful massacre of 14 July 1946 in Khuzestan, which resulted from the clash between the misled followers of the Tudeh party with other separatist traitors. The activities of the Tudeh party which had assumed greater boldness on the strength of the presence of three Tudeh Ministers in the Cabinet, roused other doubtful elements to weaken the central government; demonstrations, bloodshed and strikes developed in scope, and the evil rumour of separation and autonomy began to be heard from the province of Farss. Some of the tribes rose in revolt, captured Shiraz and demanded the expulsion of the Tudeh ministers from the cabinet.

Ghavam continued to follow his policy of mildness and compromise in the face of these upheavals even though he had realised that this meant nothing but defeat. At this

critical moment ,the enlightened and courageous King of Iran assumed the leadership of the government and the army in adopting a decisive policy against adventures and separatists. He was not a man to yield submissively to circumstances, and saw that if he did not take steps for an attack on the separatist centre of the Democratic party of Azarbajejan, the ready-made government of Pishévari would invade the capital with the aim of attacking the King and destroying the independence of the country. So there was the probability of annihilation both in surrender and in resistance or attack against the separatist centre, with this difference that the former was a shameful death and the latter a glorious martyrdom. It was this way of thinking that became the basis of the daring deeds of the Shahinshah in those critical days.

By the order of the King, Ghavam dissolved his cabinet on 16 October 1946, and formed another cabinet three days later without the participation of the Tudeh ministers. At the same time the royal proclamation was issued for a general election which involved the whole country and, of course, the province of Azarbajejan.

When preparations were in progress for the despatch of troops to Azarbajejan, the Tudeh press, inspired by the Democratic party and the puppet government of Pishévari, made onslaughts of criticism against the government, and declared that if the Iranian army invaded Azarbajejan, it would not only be defeated by the Democrats, but that party would also advance on Tehran and other central and northern provinces. In those days the Tabriz Radio of Democrats in its boasts repeated the well-known slogan "There is death but there is no retreat" on behalf of Pishévari. But the conceited leaders of this party overlooked the point that Stalin and his friends, following the policy of the day, would not seriously support this party or the rebels and their governments any longer. For they could attain their objectives by means of the concessions which had been imposed

on the Iranian Prime Minister by the Ghavam-Sadichikov agreement, and in any case it was at that time more useful for Stalin to win the friendship of Iran rather than to protect the puppet government of the Democratic party. Nevertheless, when by the order of the King the units of the Iranian army set off from Tehran for Azarbayejan via Kazvin, the Soviet ambassador obtained an audience with the King, and with a meancing tone declared the despatch of forces to Azarbayejan as a dangerous step to world peace. But the logical answer of the King made him realise that what constituted a danger for world peace was the situation created by Stalin and his friends in Azarbayejan. The puppet governor of that province, who had realised the serious consequence of treason to the country, informed the government by telegram of his readiness for unconditional surrender, and during a discussion with the Soviet ambassador the King informed him of the contents of the telegram.

## 12th December 1946

The King, who had assumed the command of the forces despatched to Azarbayejan, flew over the rebels' fortifications to see the strength of their forces. The brave people of Rezaieh and Tabriz who had learnt of the advance of the Iranian army and the flight of the king over that province, rose and with a fervour and devotion which was a true sign of their loyalty and patriotism, attacked the Democrate and their puppet government, and destroyed many communists. If the royal army had not arrived in time to check the people's animation, most of the communists who had been put in prison would have been massacred. Thus the manliness and devotion of the patriots in that province prevented much bloodshed which would have ensued if the Democrats had shown any resistance against the despatched troops. The army units entered Tabriz and Rezaieh on the 12th December 1946 amidst the excitements and cheers of the people, and thus ended the life of the autonomous government of

Azarbeyejan. Its leaders forgot their own slogan "There is death but there is no retreat", and before the arrival of the army units, collected their luggage and took the road to the Russian frontier. Beyond the river Aras they joined the political and military commissars to receive the wages of their treason from Stalin and his friends. At the same time other units of the royal army supported by Kurdish patriots and the local inhabitants of Mahabad and Shahindej captured some of the leaders of the Kumla faction and overthrew the puppet Kurdish government.

In his book "Mission for My Country", the King writes concerning the affairs of Azerbeyejan:—

"The question of Azarbeyejan is truly one of the historical events of the Middle East in the contemporary era, for the post-war Stalinist objectives of the Stalinist Russia were revealed for the first time in Azarbeyejan. What Soviet Russia did in Azarbeyejan and all its details which were discussed in the meetings of the Security Council of the United Nations, shocked the free world, and for the first time the peoples of various parts of the world became aware of the fact of the communist imperialism."

Elsewhere the King has written:—

"The importance of these events was so clear that the Iranian nation declared that day which coincided with the termination of this rebellion, a national festival and named it Azarbeyejan Day. Since 1946 the anniversary of this day, when Azarbeyejan was saved and our sovereignty over that zone was restored, is celebrated by the whole nation. In my opinion, not only should the Iranians commemorate this day, but the whole free world should never forget this historical event."

After the deliverance of Azarbeyejan, the national sentiments of the whole nation were deeply roused and during the King's trip to that province in June 1947, they reached a great height. The people gave the King such a warm welcome the parallel of which could rarely be found in the

history of this country. This welcome and the emotions exhibited by the people of Tehran on the King's return to the capital were an evidence of the attachment of the people to monarchy and a true confidence in the personality of the monarch, and a clear proof that this nation considers its King as a symbol of national unity, integrity and independence.

Before these sentiments the King delivered a fervent speech, and referred to some significant points which were heart-felt. Therefore they deeply moved the people, and since that day his words have taken the form of a saying. Here are his words:—

“These fervent and affectionate sentiments which I see in my people encourage me more than ever to serve. However selfish I might be, I fully realise that the power of monarchy depends on the national power, and the pedestals of the throne have their security in the hearts of the people.”

## 2 — From the Deliverance of Azarbayejan to the Beginning of the Movement for Nationalisation of Oil Industry.

### **The 15th Parliament**

The legislative interregnum lasted 16 months and four days. But as soon as comparative political security was established in Iran after the deliverance of Azarbayejan, Ghavam's government once more found protection from the King and the general election for the 15th Parliament began. As the Tudeh party, after the failure of the treacherous plots of the Democrats, had received a severe political blow and had been discredited, and lost its importance in consequence of this defeat and violent criticism and conflicts within the party, and been reduced to a small organisation, it realised that it would be totally defeated in the general election, so it boycotted the election. But the rivalries and conflicts which existed between candidates, groups and other political

parties helped to create a greater confusion, and thereby give the Tudeh party an opportunity for re-organisation.

The election came to an end and the Parliament was formally opened by the King on 16 July 1947, and it began to function from 17 August 1947. The Soviet ambassador in Tehran began to exert pressure on Ghavam's government concerning the question of submitting the Ghavam-Sadichikov agreement to the parliament, and Ghavam contrary to his own desire had to do so. After several days of discussion in various committees, by virtue of a law passed in the 14th parliament forbidding any Iranian government to discuss and reach agreements concerning oil concessions, the new parliament approved the plan of rejecting the Ghavam-Sadichikov agreement, and an article was inserted in this Bill charging the Iranian government with the duty of asking the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company to settle what was due to Iran. This article was the starting point of a conflict of the people and Parliament with the Oil Company for the nationalisation of the oil industry.

### **The First Seven-year Plan of Reconstruction**

Before the Second World War Reza Shah had fully felt the need of a proper programme of economic and social reconstruction for Iran, and it was by the order of that great patriot and reformer that an "Economic Council" was formed. A little later in August 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, producing events which were described in the first chapter of this book. On account of the special conditions which existed during the war and the occupation of Iran, the Economic Council could not achieve its objectives.

During the war in consequence of the expenditure of the Allied forces in Iran, this country secured a considerable amount of foreign purchasing power in the form of gold, silver and foreign exchange. In the Central Bank of Moscow alone about eleven tons of gold bar, and in the Bank of London a similar amount had been stored to the credit of the

Melli (National) Bank of Iran, the value of which, together with silver and foreign exchange savings, amounted at the international rate of 1946 to around 5800 million rials, that is, 18.5 times the value of the foreign exchange of Iran in 1940. It was the existence of this enormous amount of exchange which once more encouraged the idea of economic reconstruction and development.

At the beginning of the year 1946 by the order of the King, Ahmad Ghavam undertook two main tasks for establishing equilibrium between exchange savings and the economic condition of the country: first, the improvement of the conditions of government factories which had been founded by Reza Shah and had deteriorated during the war, such as the weaving, sugar and cement factories; secondly, drawing up a plan of economic development for the whole country. To deal with the former problem, the Industrial and Mineral Bank was established in which all the government economic institutions and industrial units were concentrated with the exception of the oil industry, tobacco monopoly, railways and granaries. To deal with the second problem, a Plan Committee was set up to prepare a seven-year plan on the basis of the projects submitted by various ministries. This committee drew up a plan costing 62 milliard rials, but as the government could not afford to carry it out, it was thought that a part of the credit necessary for this could be obtained by foreign loan. The government got in touch with the International Bank of Development and Reparations, and the Bank asked for the details of the projects prepared for the government in order to consider the possibility of providing a loan. Consequently five days after the deliverance of Azarbeyjan, that is, on 17 December 1946 an agreement was signed between the government and the Morrison Knudson Company to prepare the details of these projects, and this company undertook to make the necessary investigation through its experts and to report to the government. But as the scope of the programme submitted was wider than

the financial possibilities of the government could meet, another plan called the First Seven-year Plan was drawn up by Iranian experts on the basis of the Morrison-Knudson investigations. In this plan the cost was reduced from 62 milliard rials to 21, and its bill was submitted to the Parliament by Makimi's government which had come into office on 27 December 1947, and was approved on 21 January 1948.

With the approval of this plan, the Plan Organisation came into existence, and the duties of the Industrial and Mineral Bank were entrusted to this organisation, and similar measures were taken for the improvement of government factories and economic institutions. But the execution of the First Seven-year Plan presented a number of difficulties, the most important of which was the failure of the government to secure a loan from the International Bank of Development and Reparations.

### **Attempt on the King's Life**

The attempt on the King's life which occurred at 3 p.m. on February 4th 1949 in the premises of the Tehran University was the clearest evidence of treason against the country, and an example of the wicked intentions of the extremist right and left wings of parties, and a real treachery against the national unity, territorial integrity and independence of Iran. Although the man who made the attempt was killed on the spot, and the whole of this fearful crime was covered in a cloud of ambiguity, nevertheless His majesty's book "Mission for My Country" later on removed all doubts. The King writes in his book:—

“ The third astonishing and bitter incident of my reign happened in February 1949 when I attended the annual celebration of the Foundation of Tehran University. On that day I was wearing my military uniform, and when I got out of the car and was on the point of entering the Faculty of Law where the celebration was to be held, suddenly I heard a report and several shots were fired

at me. Though it seems strange, three shots hit my military cap without doing any injury to me, but the fourth one entered my right cheek and upper lip and went out from under the nose. The man who made the attempt had found his way there as a photographer, and he was within two yards of me when he levelled his revolver at my chest. We were face to face and there was no one near to form a screen, so I realised that nothing could prevent his shot from reaching the target. I still remember the reaction which I showed at that unforgettable moment. I thought of throwing myself at him, but realised at once that such a leap would make his aiming easier, and if I ran away he would shoot from behind. So I had no alternative but to make certain spiral movements so that in accordance with military tactics I would mislead him. The man fired another shot which wounded my shoulder. The last shot was jammed in his revolver, so I felt there was no more danger and that I was alive. He threw down his weapon in rage and began to run away, but was surrounded by officers and my attendants and was unfortunately killed, without revealing the real instigators. Later some evidence pointed to his connection with certain religious fanatics, and at the same time other evidences pointed to his connection with the dissolved Tudeh Party. What was significant was that his sweetheart was the daughter of the gardener of the British Embassy. Blood was spouting from my wounds, but I remember that I still wished to attend the ceremony. However, my attendants prevented me from doing so and took me to hospital where my wounds were dressed. This incident strengthened my faith in the True Origin, and the protection of the Supreme Essence of the Incomparable God, and made still firmer my unbreakable bond with Him."

The report of the attempt created such an excitement

in the capital and provinces the like of which could rarely be found in the history of this country. Everyone, old and young, men and women, crowded the streets waiting impatiently for the tidings of the safety of the King. In remote and near towns, the people rushed into the Telegraph offices eagerly wishing to know the details of the attempt. Meanwhile only the leaders of the re-organised Tudeh party had calmly and coolly gathered ten thousand party members in the cemetery of Imam-zadeh Abdollah in Rey (in the suburb of Tehran) in commemoration of Dr. Taghi Frani; and exactly at the moment when an attempt was being made on the life of the King in the seat of learning, they were making fervent and excited speeches on the grave of that communist.

The government of Mohammad Sa'ad which came into office on 16 November 1948 after the resignation of Hajir's cabinet, informed the nation of the safety of the King by means of a communiqué from Tehran Radio; and the King himself, who was aware of the public anxiety, inspite of his convalescence, sent a message over the radio which allayed the public uneasiness.

The government of Sa'ed, after securing sufficient evidence for the connection between the attempt on the King's life and the Tudeh party's designs, declared that party to be illegal, and established martial law in the capital, and these measures were approved by the Parliament. The Tudeh clubs throughout the country were seized by the government disciplinary forces, their newspapers were banned, some of their leaders were tried in military courts and for the undeniable offences which they had committed for many years they were condemned to long imprisonment, and other leaders who had fled from the country were, in their absence, sentenced to death. Inspite of these necessary measures, the Tudeh party did not abstain from its activity, and thenceforth organised secret societies, and in their own words "went underground", waiting for a suitable oppor-

Whenever mutual agreement is not reached between the Senate and the House of Representatives concerning a project or a bill sent twice from one House to another, a joint committee of both Houses with equal number of members will be nominated to deal with the point in question and submit its report to both Houses. If both Houses ratify the report of the Joint Committee, it will be sent to receive the royal assent. If the Houses do not reach unanimity concerning the report of the Joint Committee, the matter will be submitted to His Majesty's consideration. If the King approves the view of the House of Representatives, he shall give an order for its enforcement, otherwise the matter will remain in abeyance for six months, and at the termination of this period, may, if necessary, be considered again as a new bill or project by one of the Houses."

The Constituent Assembly, in addition to the new Article 48, ratified a supplementary Article to the Supplementary Law of the Constitution in 1949, which is as follows:—

“Supplementary Article to the Supplementary Law of the Constitution—Whenever the two Houses of Representatives and Senate, whether independently or on the proposal of the government, separately approve the need of revising one or several articles of the Constitution or its Supplementary Law by a majority vote of two-thirds of their members, and this decision is confirmed by His Imperial Majesty, the royal proclamation will be issued for convening the Constituent Assembly and for the election of its members.

The Constituent Assembly shall consist of a number equal to the total legal number of both Houses of Representative and Senate. Its election will be carried out in accordance with the law which will be approved by both Houses. The powers of the said As-

sembly shall be limited to the revision of the Article or Articles suggested by the Houses of Parliament and confirmed by His Imperial Majesty.

Decisions shall be reached by the Assembly by a majority vote of two-thirds of the members, and shall be valid and enforced after His Majesty's approval.

This does not apply to any of the Articles in the Constitution and its Supplementary Law which are related to the Holy religion of Islam and the official religion of the country pertaining to the Jafari sect and a belief in the twelve Imams and their commandments, or to Articles related to the Iranian Constitutional Monarchy, which Articles are eternally unalterable.

Concerning Articles 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the Constitution and the interpretation of Article 7 and 8 and 49 of the Supplementary Law, taking into consideration the precedent of the laws ratified in connection with some of these articles, both Houses shall meet after this Article is approved to revise the said Article, and for this purpose a joint meeting of both Houses will be held under the chairmanship of the Speaker of the Senate, to effect the necessary amendment by a majority of vote of two-thirds of the members of both Houses, and this amendment will become valid and enforced after it has been approved by His Majesty."

After these amendments received the royal assent, the royal proclamation for the election of the first Senate was issued at the same time as the proclamation for the 16th House of Representatives, and for the first time in the Constitutional history of Iran, the Senate was opened by His Majesty on February 9th 1950, and began to function on February 18.

### 3 — Nationalisation of the Oil Industry

#### The Question of Iranian Oil

As we saw, the 15th Parliament, after receiving the Ghavam government's bill concerning the formation of a joint Irano-Soviet Oil company, approved the following resolution on the night of 22 October 1947:—

“ Single Article — A) Whereas the Prime Minister, in good faith and in consequence of his inference from the contents of Article 2 of Decemer 1944, has taken steps for the negotiation and drawing-up of an agreement dated 4th April 1946 concerning the formation of a joint Irano-Soviet oil company, and whereas the Iranian House of Representative does not consider the said inference to conform with the true purport and content of the said law, therefore it considers the above negotiation and agreement to be null and void. Article 3 of the communication dated 4th April 1946 is also declared to be null and void.

B) The government must provide the means of technical and scientific research for the discovery of oil fields, and within five years prepare perfect survey maps of the oil fields of the country, so that Parliament can, on the basis of reliable information and details in this respect, make arrangements for the commercial exploitation of this national wealth, by means of ratifying necessary laws.

C) It is absolutely forbidden to grant any concessions of oil or its derivatives in the country to foreigners, or to form any company for this purpose in which foreigners may have a share by some means or other.

D) If after the exploration mentioned in Section B it is discovered that there is oil in the northern

district of Iran sufficiently abundant to make it commercially profitable to exploit, the government is authorised to negotiate with the Soviet government concerning the sale of its products, and inform the Parliament of the result of negotiation.

E) The government is bound in all cases where the rights of the Iranian nation have been damaged in connection with the national resources, whether underground or otherwise, particularly concerning the oil fields of the south, to make necessary negotiations and take steps for demanding the settlement of these rights, and to inform Parliament of the results."

The reaction shown by the national and press circles and political parties in the country to this legal decision of the Parliament was varied. Some circles and parties considered it an attempt to create an equilibrium in the foreign policy of this country, and believed that Parliament, in rejecting the Ghavam-Sadichikov agreement, which would meet with the protest of the Soviet government, had added section E in order to declare that the rights of Iran have been damaged concerning the oil concessions in the south, and the government must take steps for its settlement with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, or in other words, with Great Britain. This way of thinking assumed another shape in other circles connected with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and British economic and political circles, which thought the decision of the Iranian Parliament had no value for them, and no effect on the position of the Oil Company or its relation with the Iranian government. But many patriots and national circles praised this step and press arguments were started concerning the relations between the Oil Company and past governments of Iran and the violations of the 1933 agreement by the Oil Company.

When this resolution was communicated to the government, Ghavam asked the Oil Company to send a representative to discuss the execution of Section E of the said law,

but the Oil Company abstained from doing so. The Ghavam cabinet failed to win the vote of confidence in the Parliamentary session of 9th December 1947, and it resigned the following day. The new cabinet was presented to the Parliament on 27th December 1947, with Hakimi as Prime Minister.

Hakimi asked the Oil Company to expedite the despatch of its representative, and soon after, one of its directors called N.A. Gass came to Tehran from London, and stated in the very first meeting with the Iranian representative that the Oil Company by no means agreed to the revision of the 1933 agreement, and added that the Company would be willing to hear of any violations on the part of the Company. As the Hakimi government had not gathered the necessary information concerning this point, it brought up Article 16 of the said agreement for discussion with the Oil Company delegate. This article charged the Company with the duty of employing its skilled craftsmen and technical and business employees from among qualified Iranian nationals, and in accordance with a joint general plan gradually to replace its foreign staff by Iranian employees. After a long discussion this joint project was prepared, and the Oil Company undertook to carry out the contents of Article 16 within 8 years at the most. But as this period expired in 1944, the government of Mohammd Sa'ed and then the government of Bayat entered negotiations with the Oil Company authorities concerning the execution of Article 16, but without any result. Direct negotiations with the Oil Company came to a stand-still until 1948, and Hakimi's government was no more successful in its negotiations with Mr. Gass than its predecessors. Therefore he was subjected to great pressure in Parliament from the minority members and independents. He resigned office on 8th June 1948, and a new cabinet headed by Abdol-Hossein Hajir was presented to the Parliament, and was given a vote of confidence.

The Supplementary agreement which formed Sec-

tion 12 of the government programme and was approved by Parliament, consisted of the enforcement of all the laws particularly that of 22 October 1947 according to which the rights of Iran should be settled with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Hajir government took immediate steps, one of which was to win the approval of the Parliament for the employment of three distinguished oil experts from neutral European countries to participate in the oil question. Then he resumed discussions with Gass in October 1948, on his next visit to Iran. In a joint declaration issued on 17 October 1948, the Oil Company representative who was fully aware of the views of the Iranian government, undertook to inform the Iranian government of the views of the Oil Company Board of Directors within three months, and then to resume discussions with the Iranian government.

The Hajir cabinet which, previous to the premier's discussions with the Oil Company representative, had been interpellated by two members of Parliament and had secured a vote of confidence, once more asked for a vote of confidence after reporting the result of his discussions with Mr. Gass, and this time again the prime minister managed to stabilise his cabinet with the vote of confidence of a smaller majority. But while he was engaged in giving a comprehensive report including 25 points of Iranian objections to the oil concession and the infringements of the Oil Company authorities, he was attacked in the Parliament once more because of his policy of camouflage and his refusal to give Parliament the necessary information concerning the discussions and measures taken, and again managed to secure a vote of confidence.

The Oil Company authorities followed the policy of statutory limitation in relation to the Iranian government's measures, and tried to prolong their fruitless discussions with Iranian representatives, and benefit from the incidents which might occur in the convulsive political atmosphere of Iran. The Hajir government eventually resigned on 7th November 1948, and the new cabinet of Sa'ed secured the parliamentary

approval of his programme with a small majority on 9th December 1948.

... Section 6 of the programme of this government declared an adherence to the measures taken by the preceding governments for the settlement of the rights of Iran with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company; and in consequence of the repeated speeches of Deputies and their influence on public opinion and home and foreign press, the Oil Company authorities once more expressed their willingness to resume discussions with the Iranian government. Mr. Gass who had returned to Iran at the end of the three months, period of grace in accordance with the terms of the Joint Committee's declaration of 17 October 1948, at a time which coincided with the attempt on His Majesty's life in February 1949, declared in his first meeting with the Minister of Finance that the purpose of his visit was not to revise the oil concession and agreement which was contrary to the views of the Oil Company authorities, but only to discuss the royalties and certain other articles of the 1933 agreement, and possibly to reach mutual agreements on these questions.

Discussion and exchange of notes between the Iranian government and the Oil Company continued until July 1949. Finally as the Iranian government rejected the proposal for arbitration, and considered it more advisable in the political conditions of those days to settle the matter by direct negotiation and agreement with the Company, a new Supplementary agreement was drawn up and signed on 17 July 1949 by Golshayan, Minister of Finance, and Mr. Gass as Oil Company representative. The Bill for this agreement was submitted to Parliament for approval, but this Bill which meant an insignificant increase in the annual revenue of Iran from the oil in the south, met with the violent opposition of Parliament, and long speeches by the minority and independent members continued until the term of the 15th Parliament expired on 7 August 1949 without having reached a decision concerning this Supplementary Bill.

## Parliamentary Election

With, the termination of the life of the 15th Parliament, even though the proclamation for re-election had not been issued, parties and political sects began their activity for election to both Houses.

During the year 1949 the "National Front" was formed under the leadership of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh, comprising a few members of Parliament, some journalists and clergymen. This party began with its propaganda on the oil question, and violently opposed the Supplementary Bill, and proposed measures to safeguard greater revenues for Iran from the oil fields. The "National Front" discussed the oil question in such a way in its press that it looked as if it was supporting an independent Iranian policy in opposition to every foreign influence, while its leaders demanded greater political liberties. The opposition to foreign influence enhanced the intellectual power of the party, and although this party consisted only of a few members, nevertheless it was supported by several other parties whose leaders were members of this faction, as well as a great number of people from different classes, particularly shopkeepers and tradesmen, civil servants and educated men, and the newly awakened nationalism turned its attention to the "National Front".

The elections of both Houses began in the autumn of 1949 with much noise and heat, and the political conditions became very confused owing to the conflict between various groups. The secret organisations of the Tudeh party once more made use of this confusion to consolidate their position, and the first number of the secret paper "Mardom" was published in October 1949. This party did not only boycott the election for the 16th Parliament, but also violently opposed the "National Front" in its election policy.

During the election contests, a group of fanatical terrorists connected with religious reactionaries called

“Fadayan Islam” (Devotees of Islam) became active and Hajir, then Minister of Court, was assassinated by one of these terroists in the Mosque of Sepahsalar in November 1949. The “National Front” did not show any serious reaction to this assassination, and was eventually able to send 8 of its candidates including Dr. Mossadegh to Parliament. British agents tried to take advantage of the political situation and once more benefit from the factor of time, and by means of collusion in this election pave the way for the ratification of the Supplementary Bill; and this question had considerable influence on the election contests.

The election came to an end, and on 9 February 1950 Parliament was formally opened by His Majesty in a joint session, and after considering the credentials of the new members, it began to function from 18 February 1950.

### **Legal Measures concerning the Oil Question**

The Supplementary Oil agreement which had been placed on the agenda of the 15th Parliament under the title of “the Sa’ed-Gass agreement”, was once more brought up for consideration by the new parliament, but owing to the opposition of the “National Front” faction and other independents who collaborated with this faction in the oil question, the government of Sa’ed did not seriously defend it, for in the first place His Majesty did not approve of it, and the government was eventually forced to resign on 22nd March 1950, and the new cabinet headed by Ali Mansur secured a vote of confidence from both Houses on 13 April 1950.

On the proposal of some members, the Parliament nominated a committee of 18 members (three from each of the six Parliamentary committees) in order to investigate the Supplementary Bill, and this committee began its work in July 1950. While the committee was engaged on this task, which had a deep influence on public opinion outside Parliament, the government of Ali Mansur, which unlike the, previous cabinets had made no mention of the oil question in its

programme, fell on 26 June 1950, and Mashal Haj-Ali Razm-Ara was nominated Prime Minister, and he secured the vote of confidence of both Houses on 4 July 1950.

The programme of this cabinet was brief, and what was novel in it was Article One which envisaged changes in administrative methods, entrusting local public affairs to the people through the formation of local councils in towns and villages, and making rural and tribal life more progressive. Razm-Ara insisted upon this part of his programme, and submitted a new bill to the Parliament based on the autonomy of the towns and provinces, and the Parliament nominated a committee of 18 on 20 September 1950 to consider this Bill. But the programme of the new government said nothing about the oil question, and Razm-Ara believed that the Supplementary agreement should be revised and adjusted in the interests of Iran and then ratified by the Parliament.

The opposition to the government of Razm-Ara began in the Parliament at first, and became more intense. The "National Front" opposed the government twice in October 1950, once on the question of the Ministry of Justice, and then about oil, and once again in November 1950 concerning oil. A few weeks later the Parliament drew up this resolution:—

"The statements of the Minister of Finance (Gholamhossein Foruhar) in the session of 25 November 1950 concerning oil are by no means confirmed by Parliament, and are hereby rejected." and in this way it considered the negotiations and measures taken by the Razm-Ara government to possess no validity.

Outside Parliament, the press attached to the "National Front" and other parties which were inclined to opposition to foreigners, daringly and insolently criticised this government, and roused public opinion against Razm-Ara, and declared him to be a foreign agent who wished to damage the rights of Iran about oil, and contrary to the

insistence of the government for the ratification of the Supplementary agreement, they brought up the question of the nationalisation of the oil industry in the whole country.

Owing to the publication of articles in the "National Front" press and other newspapers on the oil question, as well as the opposition of various parties to the Razm-Ara government, Tehran and the whole country fell into a state of chaos, and the dissolved Tudeh party in complicity with some officers who inclined towards that party, managed to provide the means of escape of ten Tudeh leaders from the Ghassr prison. On the other hand the "Devotees of Islam" found a new life, and on 7 March 1951 when Razm-Ara went to attend the funeral service of a religious leader at the Shah Mosque, he was assassinated by one of these fanatical devotees in the corridor of the Mosque. On 19 March 1951 Dr. Azam Zangeneh, Minister of Education of the Razm-Ara cabinet was shot on the premises of Tehran University by another terrorist, and died a few days later. After the assassination of Razm-Ara, a new cabinet was formed by Hossein Ala on 12 March 1951, and secured the vote of confidence of both Houses on 16 April 1951.

The Parliamentary Oil Committee did not consider Sa'ed-Gass Bill adequate for settling the rights of Iran with the Oil Company. Parliament confirmed the report of this committee, and agreed to a two months' period of grace for the government to determine its policy in this matter, and on 15 March 1951 approved the committee's decision concerning the nationalisation of the oil industry throughout Iran, in the following terms:-

" Single Article —The House of Representatives confirms the resolution of the oil committee taken on 8 March 1951, and approves the prolongation of the period.

Note I — The Oil Committee is authorised to invite home and foreign experts if necessary, to make use of

their services.

Note 2 — The members of the House have the right to submit their views and proposals within 15 days of the meeting of the committee and attend its meeting to give explanations.”

“ Resolution of the Oil Committee, taken in the meeting of 8 March 1951 — Since the proposals received by the committee for the nationalisation of the oil industry throughout the country have been approved by the committee, and as the time for considering the manner of its execution is inadequate, the Oil Committee begs the House to prolong this period by two months.”

The resolution of the House of Representatives was confirmed and approved by the Senate on 20 March 1951, and in this way the principle of nationalisation of the oil industry which was derived from the national right of sovereignty and supported by His Majesty and the nation, was ratified by the Parliament, and the nation was overjoyed by the news of it.

The Oil Company authorities followed the policy of indifference and waiting against the demands of the nation industry in the whole country which was derived from the and the parliamentary resolution. But as soon as the project for the manner of enforcement of Nationalisation Law and expropriation of the Oil Company was approved in the session of 29 April 1951, once more alarm was given by the past masters and their agents in complicity with the Tudeh party and they began their vain efforts to prevent the execution of the said project.

According to the Nationalisation Law, which consists of nine articles, a joint committee of five from the Senate, five from the House of Representatives and the Minister of Finance or his substitute was formed, entrusted with the duty of dispossessing the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at once, and if the company resorted to claims against the government as an excuse to delay handing over, the government was authorised to deposit up to twenty-five percent of

the current revenues of the Oil Company, after deducting the expense of exploitation, in the Melli Bank of Iran or any other bank mutually agreed upon, as security against the probable claims of the Oil Company. The government was also charged with the duty of investigating, under the supervision of the Joint Committee, the rightful claims of Iran as well as the Oil Company and reporting its findings to the Parliament.

This parliament under the guidance of His Majesty performed its duty, and the reins of government were given as from 29 April 1951, which was the day of ratification of the Oil Nationalisation Law, to Dr. Mossadegh, leader of the "National Front". This new government was approved by a majority vote of 99 out of 102 members present in the House of Representatives on 5 May 1951, followed by the Senate's vote of confidence. The programme of this government was a very brief one, that is, it required two months for the enforcement of the Oil Nationalisation Law, and then it proposed to spend the revenues thus obtained to improve the economic conditions of the country, to take steps for public welfare and amend the laws of election and municipalities.

#### **4 — Enforcement of Oil Nationalisation Law**

##### **First British Reaction against the Oil Question**

As mentioned before, the Oil Company showed indifference to the demands of the Iranian nation, as manifested by the Parliament and press, and was waiting for a suitable opportunity to neutralise the Iranian national movement. But after the signing of a new agreement on the fifty-fifty basis between the Sa'udi Arabia and Aramco Oil Company (which had been the grantee of the Arabian oil field), it decided to follow the old policy of settling the oil question by direct and private negotiation with the head of Iranian government. For this purpose the representative of the Oil

Company began to negotiate with Marshal Razm-Ara, and informed him that the Company was willing to sign a similar agreement to that of Arabia and Aramco with Iran, and while negotiations were going on, it advanced five million pounds to the Iranian government, and undertook to make a monthly advance payment of two million pounds in future. The Company earnestly asked Razm-Ara to bring the proposals of the Oil Company to parliamentary and public attention, but Razm-Ara refused to do so, and these negotiations which went on in January 1951 remained secret, and were only revealed in the report of the Oil Company to its shareholders in November 1951.

The noteworthy point was that the oil question was an economic one, and the government intended to settle it with a commercial and industrial firm which owned the concession. It was never supposed that the British government would without any justification meddle with this matter, and change an ordinary oil matter into a political question. On the other hand, as mentioned before, the "National Front" adopted the oil question as a means of gaining victory in the 16th Parliament by means of propaganda. The oil question became the question of the day, and when the candidates of the "National Front" found their way into Parliament, it became the subject of discussion both in Parliament and in the press, with a far-reaching effect on Iranian nationalists. At the time that the Oil Committee in Parliament was preparing the project of oil nationalisation, and the Oil Company's refusal to accept this was revealed, intelligent people in Iran realised that the resistance shown by the Company against the right of sovereignty of Iran was absolutely supported by the British government. Awareness of this fact together with the unpleasant memory that the Iranians had of the unfair British surprise attack one August night in 1941, had such deep effects on public opinion, that in all meetings anti-British slogans and mottoes came foremost; and

the National Front press and other sympathising party papers were full of articles concerning the unfairness and violations of the Oil Company and its interference in the political and internal affairs of Iran. The general purport of all these criticisms was to show that the Oil Company had always been an effective agent for carrying out the political designs of Great Britain.

The first reaction of Iranian public opinion to British political circles was that the British government was asked a question in the House of Commons concerning this matter, and the answer was given that the British government cannot remain indifferent on the subject of the Oil Company. Sir Francis Shepherd, British ambassador in Tehran, in his letter of February 1951 to Razm-Ara declared the necessity of the interference of the British government in the question of oil, and expressed his concern about the tension of public opinion in Iran, and concluded his letter with these words:—

“..... In my opinion it is extremely unfortunate that public opinion in Iran should, as it is evident, still abide by this old-fashioned opinion that Britain is a government that intends to impose imperialism and colonisation wherever it wishes. Such an opinion does not only disregard the successes of the British Empire and Commonwealth in recent years, but also promotes the plans of those who want to propagate suspicion and rancour among the free nations. As it was mentioned above, I feel that the situation is critical; therefore I venture to write this letter to point out that only an effective action to guide public opinion to realise the seriousness of the situation can lead to a solution.”

The British ambassador in his letter referred to the note of the Oil Company accepting the fifty-fifty basis and declared its non-publication to be due to this tension of public opinion, and added that the British government cannot be

pleased with the continual measures taken for the nationalisation of oil, and that the British government will not accept such a policy. But the course of events proved the British ambassador to be wrong, and the Iranian nation followed to victory the way it had chosen with the support of its wise king.

### **Expropriation of the Oil Company**

From the time of the ratification of the 9-Article project for the nationalisation of oil, until September to October 1951 when the Oil Company was expropriated, the Oil Company authorities in London and Tehran as well as the British ambassador in Tehran and other British authorities continued negotiations and took measures, an account of which is beyond the scope of this book. Briefly, the British government and the Oil Company insisted, in their negotiations with the Iranian government, upon proving that Iran was by no means justified in nationalising oil; and during this period messages were sent by the U.S. President to the Iranian government inviting both governments to direct negotiation and a peaceful settlement of the question.

When the Iranian government decided to dispossess the Oil Company, it notified foreign experts who were employed by the Company either to accept service in the new organisation of the National Oil Company or leave Iran. When the British employees refused to accept service in the National Oil Company, the government cancelled their residence permits. The British ambassador in his note of 26 September 1951 protested against this action, and at about the same time the British government asked the U.S. President for support, and pointed out that the expulsion of the British oil experts by the Iranian government would leave the British government no alternative but to resort to military force. But the American President explicitly declared

that he would not support the action of that government in this respect, and at the same time recommended the Iranian government to re-consider its decision concerning the expulsion of the British experts. On the day that His Majesty received the news of the British military preparations for transgression against Iran, he summoned the British ambassador, and pointed out to him that if the British government envisaged such a step, the King himself would lead the army and stand against any transgression. This frank declaration of the King together with other factors and circumstances resolved the British government to abstain from despatching its warships close to the Iranian waters, and the mission for expropriation which was headed by Hossein Maki, member of Parliament, and composed of a number of experts, left for Abadan and began its work on 26 September 1951, and all the installations, offices and institutions attached to the Company were occupied by Iranian troops, and Iranian engineers and an Iranian provisional board of directors replaced the British.

### **The Security Council and the International Court of the Hague**

The day following this expropriation, the British Foreign Office issued a communiqué in London referring to the following points:—

- 1 — The British government will make every effort to prevent the sale of Iranian oil in foreign markets.
- 2 — It will complain to the Security Council concerning the expulsion of 350 British experts from Iran.

Following this declaration, the British government reported to the Security Council that since the Iranian government has disregarded the security measures specified by

the Hague International Court of Justice, it begs the Council to place that government's complaint on the Council's agenda.

In its session of 30 September 1951, when the Security Council considered the application of the British government, the Soviet and Yugoslav delegates opposed the consideration of the said complaint, and declared that the questions of oil nationalisation and residence of foreign experts in Iran are only within the competence of Iran, and the Security Council has no right to interfere. But the delegates of Turkey, France, India, Ecuador and China were in favour of its being placed on the agenda of the Security Council, to reach a decision after hearing the claims of both parties. Eventually, inspite of the violent opposition of the Soviet and Yugoslav delegates, the British complaint against Iran was placed on the Council's agenda. The Chairman of the Council asked the Iranian delegate to attend the next meeting of the Council, but as the Iranian delegate stated that the Iranian Premier himself would attend the meeting of the Council, the investigation of this matter was postponed to 14 October 1951.

On 9 October 1951, in a petition submitted to the Hague International Court of Justice, the British government begged the court to declare that the abrogation of the oil concession and the refusal of Iran to submit to arbitration as laid down in the concessionary agreement, has deprived the Oil Company of the enforcement of justice and has led to a breach of international laws. Moreover, the British government revised its earlier manifesto which it had submitted to the Security Council, and claimed that since the expulsion of the British oil experts from Abadan had become an accomplished fact, the matter had assumed a different form and it was necessary to submit a different manifesto to the Security Council. This manifesto which the British government wanted the Security Council to ratify, declared that negotia-

tions should begin at once between the two governments to settle the differences in accordance with the security arrangement of the Hague International Court of Justice, and that both parties should abstain from any action which would increase the seriousness of the situation and damage the rights or claims of either of the parties.

When the subject of dispute between the two governments was being considered by the Security Council and the Hague Court, the Parliamentary minority which opposed Dr. Mossadegh's government, decided to withdraw its opposition to that government and to abstain from weakening it in its struggle against a foreign power until the dispute was settled by the Security Council and the Hague. In its sessions which lasted from 14 to 18 October 1951, the Security Council considered the oil question and the claims of the British government, and after hearing the convincing and logical arguments of Dr. Mossadegh, contrary to the request of the British delegate and in view of the inner regulations of the Council, it declared that as long as the Hague Court has not given its verdict of competence in considering the oil dispute between Iran and Great Britain, the matter should remain in abeyance in the Council. Thus Great Britain lost by complaining to the Security Council, and Dr. Mossadegh who was in all stages of his proceedings supported by the King and nation, sent this telegram following his success in the Council:—

“New York. 21 October 1951. To His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran. It has always been my wish to pray God for Your Majesty's health, long life and success, and I confess that wherever and whenever success has been achieved we have been indebted to Your Majesty for your constant support and guidance of the government. As I informed Your Majesty through the Minister of Court, I am leaving Philadelphia on Monday and going to Washington on Tues-

day, whence I shall submit the proceedings to Your Majesty's attention. I beg once more to express my gratitude for Your Majesty's special attention and favour."

The few week's trip of the Prime Minister and his attendants to the United States had the following results:—

- 1 — The Security Council's consideration of the oil question gave the Iranian Premier the opportunity to submit his arguments and give details of the antecedents of this question, and thus to inform the whole world of the facts from that international centre, and in proving the case of Iran, to neutralise the extensive propaganda carried on against Iran in the United States and other countries.
- 2 — Iranian delegates came into contact with American statesmen and directors of big oil companies, and realised that the powerful oil cartel would never allow the oil revenues of Iran to be more than those of other Middle East countries, for should they become so, the members of the cartel would be forced to grant fresh concessions to other oil-producing countries.
- 3 — The firm belief of Dr. Mossadegh and his colleagues that the free world was in such a great need of Iranian oil that it would accept all the conditions of Iran in order to secure it, was rather shaken, and the contrary was proved to be correct when the production of oil in Iran was reduced to a minimum, while that of Kuwait, Iraq, Qatr and Bahrein increased.
- 4 — Iranian authorities were convinced that big American oil companies would never agree to support Iran and desert the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company contrary to their obligations to the cartel.

The realisation of these facts was very valuable for Iran, and it could have served as a basis for the adoption of a suitable policy with regard to oil by the Iranian government, and the Prime Minister was able to endeavour to make use of suitable opportunities for the solution of the oil question in favour of Iran, and transform it from being the problem of the day with political implications overshadowing all other political, social and economic problems of the country. Dr. Mossadegh took the first step, and in spite of the violent propaganda of the British government which made it appear as if a compromise with the Mossadegh government was impossible and considered the fall of that cabinet as the only way for the solution of the oil question, he offered to waive certain claims in favour of the Oil Company, but as he refused to accept the fifty-fifty basis, his other concessions were fruitless.

In the space of time between the Premier's trip to the United States in October 1951 and January 1952 several proposals were made to the government for the solution of the oil question, the most important of which was that of the International Bank attached to the UNO, of which both Iran and Great Britain were members. This proposal was at first received well in Iran, but a number of Mossadegh's colleagues considered it contrary to the principle of nationalisation, and although negotiations continued for a long time and President Truman and Mr. Churchill, the British Conservative Premier, in their discussions in Washington on 8 January 1952, declared the need of peace and tranquility and peaceful progress in the Middle East and expressed the hope that the oil question would be solved by the International Bank, nevertheless the Bank delegates failed to reach agreement with the Iranian government on all points. One of these points was the employment of British experts, which was violently

opposed by Mossadegh's advisers.

Following the petition submitted by the British government on 25 May 1951 to the Hague International Court of Justice against the Iranian government, Great Britain presented its first formal complaint to the Court, and the Iranian government, after receiving a copy of it and discussing it with legal experts, prepared a reply entitled "Preliminary Considerations concerning the rejection of the competence of the Court by the Iranian government", and sent it to the Hague Court on 4 February 1952. When the British government submitted its second formal complaint on 24 March 1952, the Court on the application of the Iranian government chose 9th June 1952 to consider the British complaint. The Iranian government nominated Henri Rolin and Marcel Sluszny, two well-known European jurists as counsels for the defence.

The Hague Court held its sessions for two weeks beginning 9 June 1952. It heard the convincing argument of the Iranian Premier who had personally gone to the Hague for this purpose, as well the pleading of the counsels of both parties, and finally it decided that the court was not competent to consider the British complaint. Thus Great Britain failed in the Hague Court as it had failed in the Security Council. The noteworthy point about the verdict of this court was that the English judge voted in favour of Iran, and this honourable action took place at a time when his country was exerting all kinds of pressures on Iran, such as an economic blockade, the prevention of the sale of oil, instigations within the country, obstructions abroad, intimidating buyers of oil, the incitement of the neighbouring countries against Iran, plotting in Bahrein and the Persian Gulf, the disruption of communications, the seizure of goods destined for Iran and other measures of this kind.

## 5 — Political Crisis

### The 17th Parliament

The election of the 17th Parliament began in January-February 1952 in Tehran and the provinces in the same manner as that of the previous parliament. The election policy of the government was as far as possible to have its candidates elected, and to prevent the election of Tudeh candidates. The government was so successful in Tehran that all the Tehran candidates were elected from the National Front and pro-government candidates. For the first time in the Constitutional history of Iran, 140,000 votes were cast in Tehran. In the provinces where the government did not expect to be successful, the election was either postponed, or abrogated.

The government was perfectly successful in preventing the election of Tudeh candidates, and the efforts of that party came to nothing owing to the confidence shown in the government by the people. Finally, after violent conflicts, confusions and bloodshed, the election came to an end, and the 17th parliament was formally opened on 27 April 1952, after an interregnum of two months and seven days. It began to function on 29 May after approving the credentials of the members, and gave an almost unanimous vote of confidence (68 votes out of 69) to Mossadegh after he presented his cabinet to the Parliament. The important points of this cabinet's programme were: reform of the laws of general and municipal elections, exploitation of oil fields of the country, creation of local councils in rural districts, and revision of judicial laws. A Bill was passed on 3 August 1952 granting Dr. Mossadegh himself certain powers for a period of six months, and this Bill was approved by the Senate on 2 August. He was commissioned to prepare the necessary bills for the execution of his government's programme, and enforce them provisionally, and submit them to Parliament for approval before

the termination of that period.

### **The Government's Position**

In the space of time between the opening of the new Parliament and granting legal powers to the Premier, certain happenings occurred which should be considered as the causes or preliminary steps to this grant of powers.

In the session of 4 July 1952 in the Senate, only 14 members out of 36 present voted in favour of Dr. Mossadegh, and the rest consisted of 19 blanks, two void votes, and one contrary vote given by General Zahedi. Dr. Mossadegh was not willing to accept the responsibility of government with such a feeble support, but after an exchange of views with the executive committee of the Senate he accepted the premiership. When on 13 July in a private session of the House of Representatives he asked for legal powers, he was unexpectedly opposed by some of the members, and after a long discussion it was agreed that the House should declare its decision on July 16. On that day, Dr. Mossadegh asked for an audience with the King and offered his resignation. The King left the question of the choice of a new premier to both Houses, which met at once, and expressed their inclinations towards Ahmad Ghavam. The King, inspite of his own inclination, agreed to the premiership of Ghavam, and thus the old statesman once more appeared in the political arena. In the first hours of his short and transient rule he issued a strong proclamation from the radio addressed to the nation and intimidating the people, and this caused dissatisfaction and a violent reaction, particularly in the capital.

The government of Ghavam which lasted four days came to an end with his resignation on 21 July 1952 after much fighting and bloodshed between the people and disciplinary forces. In the rising of 21 July, which came to be cal-

led a "National Revolt" by the House of Representatives in its session of 7 August and by the Senate on 2 August, all manner of people from various parties and political groups took part, such as the National Front, trademen and followers of Mossadegh, National party of working-classes, National Socialists and the Third Force. But the noteworthy point is that the Tudeh party played an important part in this conflict and in standing against the disciplinary forces. Its leaders considered Ghavam their headstrong enemy, and found it necessary to make all the effective party members participate in the struggle to bring about the collapse of the Ghavam government. Thus in the demonstrations of 21 July, the Tudeh party and National Front were for the first time on one side. But while the aim of the National Front was to pave the way for the resumption of power by Dr. Mossadegh, the Tudeh party considered him an enemy, and the policy of collaboration with the National Front was adopted for the sake of expediency and in order to secure power and pave the way for future rule.

Both Houses expressed the desire for the premiership of Dr. Mossadegh, the House of Representatives with a majority of 61 out 64 members present, on 22nd July, and the Senate with a majority of 33 out of 41 members present on 23rd July; and he was once more appointed Prime Minister by a royal decree. On the same day the news of the verdict given by the Hague Court was announced in Tehran, and the people in the capital were overjoyed with their victory over Ghavam and with the news of this verdict. Here is an excerpt of the King's writings concerning the re-appointment of Dr. Mossadegh to premiership:—

"..... Ghavam was sick and infirm because of old age and often went to sleep during important political discussions. He believed in the use of force for the solution of problems, but I could not in my conscience allow such an infirm person to

adopt such a method. Therefore I considered it advisable that he should resign after four days of being in office, and it became clear that no one could resist Dr. Mossadegh in those days. Therefore on July 21 I had to accept the conditions imposed by Dr. Mossadegh, and appointed him Prime Minister."

One of these conditions which in his previous audience with the King on the occasion of his resignation he had stated on 16 July, had been that he should personally hold the position of Minister of War. As evidenced by the writings of the King himself, after 21 July this condition was accepted by the King, and when Dr. Mossadegh presented his cabinet to Parliament he nominated himself Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence, a name that was chosen instead of Minister of War; and he was given a vote of confidence by both Houses.

### **British and American Proposals**

The new government was faced with difficulties, some of which were created by the negative policy and stubbornness of the Premier in connection with the oil question, and others were the natural and logical products of the effective participation of the Tudeh party in the revolt of 21 July. Moreover, the government's fiscal condition as against its promise to pay all the expenses of the National Oil Company and other necessary expenses had become very critical in view of the loss of revenue from the southern oil.

Dr. Mossadegh and his counsellors had long ago realised that contrary to their assumption, Great Britain could continue its economic life without Iranian oil, and in a speech addressed to the members of the 17th Parliament at his house on 12 April 1953, he said:—

“..... Concerning our foreign problems, we supposed that the British government needed our oil as we our

selves needed it, for in addition to providing it with fuel, it was a commodity which was exported from England to other countries, thus obtaining foreign exchange in order to meet other needs from other countries. But unfortunately the British government met these needs by means of securing aids from the United States in the form of dollars, and purchased the necessary oil, with the consequence that we were hard-pressed, that is, anyone who wanted to deal with us and buy oil was dissuaded, and our oil industry came to a stand-still, so that even those who have signed agreements with us have not fulfilled them."

(I)

While the head of the Iranian government was admitting his mistakes, news came of the increase in the production of oil in Koweti, Iraq and Saoudi Arabia, and it became clear that with the extraordinary reduction of oil production in Iran subsequent to nationalisation, Great Britain had made up for this deficiency with the increase of oil production in other Middle East countries. Considering this fact, Dr. Mos sadegh instructed the Foreign Ministry to ask the British Embassy in a note sent on 7 August 1952, to take steps concerning the payment of the claims of the government against the former Oil Company, of which Great Britain had presented itself as a representative with full powers. Some of

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- (1) The oil tanker 'Rosemarie' which was carrying 100 tons of crude Iranian oil for Italy, suddenly and mysteriously changed its course and went to Aden, a British protectorate; and in a letter written to some newspapers the representative of the Italian Company 'Epim', which was a buyer of Iranian oil, claimed that this was due to the plot of the agents of the former Angle-Iranian Oil Company with the owner of the oil tanker.

these claims were as follows:—

- 1 — Debts due to the Iranian government by the former Oil Company belonging to the years before nationalisation, amounting to tens of millions of dollars, and confirmed by the said company, as well as the damages caused by the delay in the payment of the said debts.
- 2 — The sums belonging to the Iranian government deposited in British banks, and the damages caused by the payment of the said sums.
- 3 — Claims of the Iranian government against the former Oil Company and the damages caused by the actions of that company and the British government.
- 4 — The damages caused by preventing the sale of Iranian oil through the intimidation of buyers, in which the agents of the former Oil Company and the British government had taken part, and created a great difficulty for the Iranian government in the sale of oil.

The Foreign Ministry had asked the British authorities to abstain from unjust measures in preventing the sale of Iranian oil which would be damaging to the good relations between the two governments, and in this note declared the readiness of Iran to negotiate with Oil Company representatives concerning the claims of both parties, and if they could reach no agreement, the matter could be submitted to competent courts in Iran.

Twenty days after the Foreign Ministry's note was delivered to the British Embassy, that is, on 27 August 1952, Loy Henderson, U.S. ambassador and George Middleton, British Chargé d'Affaires called on the prime Minister, and delivered the joint message of the U.S. President and British Prime Minister. In this message after expressing the hope

for the solution of the oil question by means of joint actions of the governments of Iran, America and Britain, the following proposal was made to the Iranian government:—

- 1 — The question of the damages caused by the nationalisation of oil in Iran shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice on the basis of the rights of both parties existing immediately before nationalisation; as well as all the claims of both parties.
- 2 — Suitable delegates shall be appointed by the Iranian government and the Oil Company to discuss the matter and make arrangements for the flow of oil to world markets.
- 3 — If the Iranian government agrees to the two points mentioned above:—
  - A) The Oil Company representatives will take steps for the transport of the oil stored at the moment in Iran, and as soon as agreement is reached concerning prices, and technical conditions permit loading, suitable payments will be made for the oil which can be carried.
  - B) Her British Majesty's government shall remove the existing restrictions concerning the export of goods to Iran and utilisation by Iran of sterling funds. ....
  - C) The U.S. government will pay a gratuitous sum of ten million dollars to the Iranian government to help to remove its budget difficulties.

In addition to the above proposal, the text of a special agreement which had been drawn up for the execution of Article One of this project to be signed by the representatives of the governments of Iran and Great Britain, was attached to the joint message. In a long report given to Parliament and a lengthy written statement distributed at a gath-

ering of home and foreign journalists, he declared the joint message to be offensive and inadmissible. Thus he rejected the American-British proposal, but he still hoped that American oil companies would offer to buy Iranian oil.

### **Severing of Political Relations with Great Britain**

After the rejection of the joint proposal the Iranian government, although correspondence continued between the Iranian authorities and the American and British Foreign Secretaries and British Premier, in which the reason for the rejection of the proposal was stated, the oil problem did not become clear as Iran expected, and the project for indemnity and recourse to arbitration became in itself the most important obstacles to the solution of the oil problem.

On 16 October 1952, Dr. Mossadegh prepared a report concerning the joint message and his correspondence with the American and British governments for presentation to the Parliament, but as there was no quorum, this report was broadcast on the radio. In this report a brief account was given of the unfair measures taken by Great Britain and agents of the former Oil Company against the exploitation by Iran of its own oil resources, restrictions imposed by Great Britain in fiscal and economic matters, intrigues and plots carried out at home and abroad against Iran by the agents of that government and its allies and finally, the purport of the joint message and the reasons for its rejection by Iran. In conclusion the necessity for breaking off political relations with the British government was stated.

On 22 October 1952 the Foreign Ministry informed the British Chargé d'Affairs in Tehran of the severing of political relations with Great Britain, and declared in its note that if the British government reconsidered its policy in order to provide a favourable atmosphere and good understanding, the Iranian government would eagerly take steps for the

renewal of its political relations with that government. Following the despatch of the note to the British Embassy, the Foreign Ministry instructed the Iranian Embassy staff in London to return to Tehran within a week.

In the interview of the correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune with Dr. Mossadegh, published on 4 November 1952, the reasons for breaking off political relations with Great Britain were stated as follows:—

“According to Dr. Mossadegh the reason for breaking off relations with Great Britain has been mainly to prevent anticipated riots. Dr. Mossadegh believed that the British were waiting to benefit from every dissatisfaction and to create a military dictatorship like that of General Neguib in Egypt.”

The said correspondent expressed his opinion about Mossadegh and the conditions in Iran as follows:—

“Dr. Mossadegh is determined to check the expansion of communism in Iran, and if the Western powers believe that Iran should be brought out of the Soviet axis, it is advisable to assist Iran and not to check its progress by economic restrictions.”

The noteworthy point in the severing of political relations with Great Britain is that this step was taken at a time when after all the self-sacrifice shown by the Iranian nation and all sufferings borne by its people, Great Britain was prepared to recognise the nationalisation of Iranian oil as an accomplished fact, to waive the question of monopoly of oil purchase by the former Oil Company and its own agents, to abstain from interfering in oil matters, and to limit its claims for indemnity. Attention to this point and the home policy which Mossadegh adopted in the first few months of the year 1953, makes clear the reasons which led to the happenings of August 1953 ending with the fall of Mossadegh.

## New American-British Proposals

The hope of Dr. Mossadegh for the purchase of oil by American firms was not so misplaced, for several independent oil companies which were not members of the big oil cartel, repeatedly asked the American Foreign Office and other authorities concerning the purchase of Iranian oil, and some of them were willing to replace the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. But the British propaganda and agents of that company were trying hard to prevent such efforts, and the matter was brought up in the form of a question in the British House of Commons, and the British government managed to win the agreement of the American government with regard to preventing the purchase of Iranian oil by American firms, and postpone the solution of the oil question until the election of the new American President. England hoped that the Republican Party which supported big capitalists and supported the big Oil cartel, would win the election and take the reins of government in its hands, so that Great Britain would win a greater support from the American government in resisting Iran.

In December 1952, American and British Foreign Secretaries met in Paris, and the American Foreign Secretary made the following proposal to the British Foreign Secretary for the solution of the Iranian oil question:—

- A — A number of big American oil companies should in conjunction with the International Bank make indemnity payments to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in order to settle all claims of the said company.
- B — Then the American companies could form a partnership with the Iranian national Oil Company, to create a new Irano-American Oil Company for the purpose of the exploitation of Iranian oil fields and Abadan oil refineries.

C — The oil products of Iran would be bought by American Oil Companies and Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in accordance with a long-term agreement, and the sum paid to the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company as indemnity would be amortized from Iranian revenues within ten years.

This proposal was rejected by the British Foreign Secretary, and thenceforth until the Republican victory and election of Eisenhower as President, several meetings and discussions were held between Henderson, American ambassador in Tehran, and Dr. Mossadegh, and in one of these meetings the American ambassador assured the Iranian Premier that if he agreed to refer the question of indemnity to arbitration, the American government would take steps for the sale of Iranian oil, and would render financial aid to Iran. Dr. Mossadegh declared his agreement to the question of arbitration subject to determining the amount of indemnity.

After the election of General Eisenhower to the presidency, Dr. Mossadegh in a letter of congratulations requested him to consider the vital struggle of the Iranian nation carefully, and the new President in his answer declared that he would carefully and with all good will consider the contents of the Iranian Premier's letter.

The last proposal given by the British government against that of Dr. Mossadegh was that after referring the question of indemnity to arbitration, before the verdict of the court was given, twenty-five percent of the annual revenue of the National Oil Company from the sale of oil should be paid to the former Oil Company towards the amortization of the indemnity, and after the verdict was given the rest of the indemnity should be paid in the same manner, and if there was no cash sale the indemnity should be paid in the form of crude oil.

After the contents of the proposal were published by a

Foreign Office spokesman in London on 21 March 1953, both the American and British press expressed the view that the renewal of discussion with Dr. Mossadegh was useless and all negotiations should be broken off.

### **Collapse of the Government**

Mossadegh's government had assumed power on the basis of national activities in order to establish the sovereignty of Iran with regards its oil resources, and to lead the national struggle the banner of which was carried by the farsighted King himself. Consequently the failure of this government in the exploitation of nationalised resources of oil inevitably had a deep effect on the position of the government, and tended to rouse Mossadegh's friends and supporters against him. Moreover, as hinted above, after the events of July 21 1952 the way was paved for the renewal of activity by the Tudeh party, and the seriousness of the fiscal and economic conditions were additional factors in the instability of the government.

The opposition of Mossadegh's friends to his policy at first took the form of mild criticisms within the National Front. Then the Senate began to resist against his inclinations, and on the insistence of the Prime Minister the King, contrary to his own desire, had to agree to the dissolution of the Senate. Then Mossadegh decided to prolong his legal powers. At the same time a number of people who were opposed to the government were arrested in Tehran, and the government declared that these people were led by Senator Zahedi and parliamentary members to plot against the government in favour of a foreign embassy.

One of those persons whose approval or disapproval was effective in the position of the government was Seyed Abolghassem Kashani whose inopportune interference in government matters and numerous recommendations to

various ministries and governmental institutions created an impediment for the government. Therefore, Dr. Mossadegh instructed all governmental institutions to disregard Kashani's recommendations, from which time on Kashani joined the rank of the opposition. Shortly after, some of the influential members of the National Front took offence at the choice of the board of directors of the National Oil Company, and deserted Dr. Mossadegh and joined his antagonists.

The question of the Bill to prolong the legal authority of the Prime Minister for one year revealed the differences and divergences within the National Front and among the colleagues of Dr. Mossadegh. At the same time, the Youth Organisation of the Tudeh party started demonstrations which met with the opposition of the people and Pan-Iranist faction, and during this conflict one man was killed and 21 were injured. Next day the House of Representatives gave the government a vote of confidence with a majority of 64 out of 65 members present.

This vote of confidence was noteworthy and awakened the hope of the government. But the moment the Bill for the prolongation of the legal powers of Dr. Mossadegh was set forth for discussion, the screen was lifted from the opposition of the influential members of the National Front to Dr. Mossadegh, and they openly opposed this Bill. When the King favoured the granting of legal powers to Dr. Mossadegh, and at the same time the Tehran press published the news of an agreement between Iran and Great Britain on the oil question, once more the position of Dr. Mossadegh became secure in Parliament and on 20 January 1953 the Parliament ratified the Bill for the prolongation of Dr. Mossadegh's legal powers for one year. Here is an excerpt from the King's writings about this question and the policy of the Prime Minister:—

“ ..... In January 1953 the Parliament agreed to prolong the powers of Dr. Mossadegh with my approval and by a majority of votes. The reason for my

approval was to give him every opportunity for carrying out a positive policy in the oil question. But unfortunately Mossadegh continued to use these powers for his own private ends, and began to strangle the press and arrest editors, and when a number of parliamentary deputies showed sufficient courage to oppose him, he began to weaken the power of Parliament and instructed his followers to prevent the House from having a quorum by absenting themselves, and ordered the hooligans and villains who supported him to intimidate antagonistic deputies and threaten them in their homes or in the streets."

The political crisis of February-March 1953 revealed the private motives of Mossadegh's followers and friends. On 25 February 1953 General Zahedi was arrested in accordance with Article 5 of Martial Law which had been established during the whole period of Mossadegh's rule, and on 28 February 1953 it was rumoured that the King would leave Iran by plane. At the request of Kashani, parliamentary Speaker, and a number of deputies and clergymen and people of Tehran who had gathered in the royal court on that day, the King abandoned the idea of his trip abroad, and in the evening of the same day the following communiqué was published by the Court:—

"Owing to indisposition, His Imperial Majesty intended to undertake a brief journey abroad via Iraq and a pilgrimage to the Holy Shrines, but this royal decision caused some anxiety and manifestation of patriotic sentiments by the whole nation, and by their gathering and demonstration which were worthy of appreciation, they begged the King to abandon his decision to travel. As His Imperial Majesty has always had a consideration for public opinion, while expressing gratitude and appreciation for these honest sentiments, he has resolved to forego this trip for the present."

Following the events of 28 February 1953, twenty-

eight of the deputies took sanctuary in Parliament. Parties and factions supporting Mossadegh continued to demonstrate for several days, and shops were half-closed. Meanwhile the government arrested a number of retired officers and others, and a committee of eight parliamentary deputies was chosen to discuss the question of limiting the powers of the King as commander-in-chief of the forces. The committee submitted a report to Parliament, but it failed to win consideration. This action of the Prime Minister which was taken parallel to the inclinations of the Tudeh party and leftist elements, had an undesirable reaction among the people and in the Parliament, and helped to make the government more unstable. It became clear that the government intended to weaken the monarchy, and keep the King away from the political proceedings in the country. The King writes:—

“ ..... The same man Mossadegh dissolved the Senate and the highest judicial authorities in the country within a few months, and instigated the people for the dissolution of the Parliament, strangled the press, destroyed free election, prolonged martial law, and did his utmost to weaken the powers granted to me by the Constitution, and thus trampled on the fifty-year-old Constitution which had been obtained with much labour and effort; and yet inspite of all these deeds, Mossadegh was not able to attain his aim of becoming an absolute dictator in the country except by such means as to abolish monarchy.

Although I had saved him from death (1), and he was wholly supported by me at the beginning, it was evident to me from the day he became Prime Minister that his goal was to overthrow my dynasty. There were many indications of this, for, he was related to the Qajar dynasty, had violently opposed my

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(1) As Crown Prince he had saved Dr. Mossadegh from death in the time of Reza Shah.

but had declared themselves in favour of the government in order to pave the way for their re-election in the next Parliament, resigned, and thus the Parliament was in practice, dissolved.

The King, faced with the stubborn and unlawful actions of Dr. Mossadegh, making use of the legal powers granted to him in the absence of the legislature, issued a decree dismissing Mossadegh as Prime Minister, and this order was communicated to Mossadegh in the night of 6 August 1953 by Colonel Nassiri, commander of the Royal Guard. This was followed by another decree appointing General Fazlolah Zahedi, who was in hiding from Mossadegh's officials in Ekhtiarieh, Shemiran (a suburb of Tehran) as the new Prime Minister. But Mossadegh refused to obey the King's command, and continued his work, and after arresting the commander of the Guard, ordered the dissolution of the Guard.

The space of time between 16 and 19 August 1953 may be considered the most critical days Tehran had witnessed, and the events which took place in these three days revealed the true inclinations of the Tudeh party and leftist elements. The King, who was staying at Kelardasht (in Mazandaran) at that time, after hearing of the arrest of the commander of the Guard and Mossadegh's disobedience, left the country by a special plane on 16 August 1953 from Ramsar for Bagdad and thence for Rome, in order to prevent civil war and bloodshed.

The news of the King's departure increased the insolence and boldness of the Tudeh party, and demonstrations were started in the streets and squares of Tehran and other towns by its agents, during which they proclaimed the establishment of a Democratic Republic, and even changed the name of Shah-Reza Street into "Jomhuriat" (meaning Republic). As a result of the skirmish between the Tudeh followers and their antagonists who were supported by the people, a great number of people were killed or wounded. Dr. Mossadegh was in great dilemma; the government was un-

able to control the events, and chaos reigned everywhere in Tehran and many other towns. On 19 August 1953 the disciplinary forces which had been concentrated at critical points by Dr. Mossadegh's order to prevent anarchy and check the Tudeh demonstrations and disturbances, rose in mutiny to support the people's revolt in favour of the King and monarchy and Constitution. By noon of that day, there was no trace of Mossadegh's government which had really become unlawful since August 16, and General Zahedi assumed power and quickly restored order in the capital. Here is an excerpt from the King's writing about this matter:—

"Our stay in Rome did not last long. On 21 August, three days after Zahedi assumed power, I returned to Iran and was warmly welcomed by all classes of people. The natural emotions of the people on that day cannot be described, and these sentiments which had their source in the hearts of the people in comparison with the prescribed demonstrations of Mossadegh and Tudeh members, left a deep impression in my heart.

When Mossadegh became Minister of War there were only one hundred officers attached to the Tudeh party, but during the year before his fall this number rose to 600, and even the commander of the battalion of the Royal Guard whom I had trusted proved to be a communist. These men confessed in their trial that after the overthrow of the Pahlavi dynasty by Mossadegh they intended to kill him in a military coup d'état and establish communism in Iran in the manner adopted in other countries.

In my favour, the whole people of Iran had shattered the morale of the Tudeh forces, and perplexed and weakened them by their rising, and this last group of Mossadegh's supporters (whom for obvious reasons he did not wish to recognise) deserted him; and the surprising thing was that it was the strong opposition of the nation to Dr. Mossadegh which saved him from certain death."

# Chapter Three

## — Period of Political Stability

### I — The Government and Parliament

#### An Analysis of the Rising of August 16

The National Movement for the exercise of the sovereignty of Iran over the extensive oil resources of the country was without a doubt one of truest general and social movements of the Iranian nation with definite goals, in conformity with all international principles and in harmony with the United Nations' Charter. As stated in Chapter two, this movement was created by the awakening of the Iranian nation, and led by the courageous and public-spirited Shah-inshah, ending with the victory of the nation, inspite of thousands of difficulties and obstructions created by Great Britain and the agents of the former Oil Company.

One of the fine manifestations of this movement was the emergence of nationalistic sentiments, which took the form of a hatred of the unfair deeds of the Oil Company and British agents at first, and then rose high to overshadow all other affairs, and revived all the bitter and unpleasant memories which lingered in the breast of this nation of the cunning diplomacy of foreign powers in Iran. Thus it created a wave of wrath and hatred against those governments which the Iranians considered as the cause of the adversity, misfortune and retardation of this nation in the progressive advance of the people of the world. The government of Mosadegh which had with the King's support carried the banner of this struggle, had chosen the right way for the attain-

ment of this goal, and managed by its reliance on the people's sentiments to prove the validity and lawfulness of this national movement in international circles, and to secure the votes of the Security Council and the International Court of Justice in favour of Iran. But unfortunately a number of ambitious and selfish individuals penetrated the legislative and executive powers, and after the establishment of the sovereignty of Iran over its oil resources they kept warm the oven of public sentiments in order to profit by it, and encouraged the head of the government to persist in his obstinacy to such an extent that the oil question reached a deadlock. Then with much skill and dexterity they transformed the public struggle against foreign influence and Xenophilism into a conflict with the manifestations of national unity. Suddenly they brought up the question of a change of political regime which harmonised with the inclinations of the head of the government himself, and started to propagate this idea with their tongues and pens, and willy-nilly gave up the initiative to the Tudeh party which was waiting for such an opportunity.

The demonstrations and meetings of August 16 to 19 in the capital against national unity and constitutional monarchy originated with the Tudeh party, and showed the political tendencies of some of the National Front leaders and supporters of Dr. Mossadegh. A number of innocent people too were deceived into believing its sincerity and showed themselves willing to co-operate with them. But the important point was that the spirit of nationalism was awakened in Iran, and it showed the right path to the people in the most critical days of the country. The people who had fought against foreign influence and had triumphed, now observed another foreign role behind the demonstrations of the critical days of August 16 to 19, taking advantage of the King's departure to pave the way for attaining its goals. What reaction could be shown by a nation which believed its unity, sovereignty, and political and economic independence to dep-

end on the stable regime of constitutional monarchy, against the plots and treacherous designs of the Tudeh party and its collaborators except a manly rising? On August 19 the Iranian nation rose in order to preserve its unity and national traditions, and as it triumphed in the question of oil nationalisation, in the same way it emerged victorious in this insurrection by its offerin gof blood and self-sacrifice.

Fazlolah Zahedi the new Premier who was promoted to the rank of a marshal by the King, controlled the situation sooner than was expected. He established order and security in the country by strengthening the military authorities, arresting the influential members of the previous government, suppressing centres of propaganda and Tudeh press, prosecuting its leaders, prohibiting demonstrations and taking similar security measures.

### **Parliament and the Government programme.**

The Parliament had a doubtful position after the rising of August 19, for the Senate had been dissolved early in the summer of the previous year by the vote of the 17th House of Representatives, and the latter too had a similar fate after the referendum. But as the dissolution of both Houses had been effected contrary to the law and without a royal decree, both the senators and deputies still considered themselves members of Parliament.

The government of Zahedi asked for the dissolution of both Houses by the King in order to put an end to this state of affairs, and to prepare the way for the new election. The House of Representatives was dissolved on 19 November 1953, and the Senate on 17 December 1953, and preliminary steps were taken for the election of the 18th House of Representatives and the 2nd Senate.

After the elections which took place in February, both Houses were formally opened in a joint session by His Majesty, and the lower House began its work on 15 April 1954. Here are some of the remarks made by His Majesty at

the opening of the 18th Legislature:—

“ ..... It is clear to us that to-day the Iranian nation is firmly resolved to smooth over the difficulties in its way of progress, and make good use of lost opportunities. After the bitter experiences of the past it has discovered this truth that the attainment of sacred goals is not possible except by trusting to racial virtues and ancient qualities, that is, an adoration of Iran, and unity and self-sacrifice.

We, too, will not spare any devotion or self-sacrifice in the service of the country, and will always be ready to support and assist you in this service and in safeguarding the welfare of our countrymen and children.”

On 27 April 1954, Marshal Zahedi introduced his cabinet to the lower House and submitted his programme consisting of 14 points, and secured a vote of confidence of a majority of 107 out of 110 members present. The main points of his programme were: preservation of mutual friendly relations with the neighbours and all free countries of the world, supporting the United Nations' Charter, safeguarding the existing security by lawful means, suppressing the spirit of rebellion shown towards the laws and regulations of the country which had created a menace to the security and tranquility of the nation, development of agriculture, public health, education and industry, strengthening the economic conditions of the country through oil and other revenues.

It was necessary for Parliament to determine what course it should take with regards the laws approved by the 17th Legislature and 1st Senate on the basis of the powers granted to Dr. Mossadegh. On November 9th 1954 the lower House abrogated all the said laws by means of a single-articled project, and charged the government with the duty of expressing its views within 15 days concerning the necessity of keeping any of the said laws. In such cases a joint com-

mittee of both Houses would consider these Bills, which would continue to be enforced until their final ratification by both Houses. If the committee rejected a Bill, its enforcement would be halted at once. This project was confirmed by the Senate on 20 November 1954, and after receiving the royal assent, was communicated to the government.

### **Discovery of the Organisation of Tudeh officers**

One of the important achievements of the Zahedi government was the discovery of dangerous Tudeh organisations within the army and disciplinary forces preparing for the execution of a wide plot against monarchy, the territorial integrity and independence of Iran.

In these organisations which called themselves "the Organisation of Tudeh officers" hundreds of officers and non-commissioned officers in the army, gendarmerie and police force had been organised effectively and carefully by the harmful and mischievous instructions of the Tudeh party, endeavouring to shatter the army and security forces in the country.

This organisation came into existence early in 1945. Its first manifestation was the desertion of a number of officers of the 8th Army of Khorassan to Gonbad Ghabus, the flight or death of some others, and the desertion of a group of army officers and their joining the Democratic party of Azarbeyjan in 1945 and their collaboration with the autonomous government of Pishévari. In order to take the reins of power in its hands, the Tudeh party considered it necessary to strengthen this organisation in the army, for it needed armed forces to achieve its end, and the mobilisation of armed forces required trained men, arms and reliable officers; and these three elements could only be obtained within the army.

The Tudeh penetration into the army and disciplinary forces and creation of a secret organisation within the armed forces had very important results which are as follows:—

- 1 — This secret organisation was able to develop the programme of party propaganda in a well-planned and well-organised manner among the officers and ranks, and strengthen cynicism and discord and shake military discipline. It could provide the party with secret military information by espionage, steal the statistics of units, arms and munitions, and military plans and hand them over to the party leaders, and facilitate the theft of arms and munitions and their delivery to the Tudeh party.
- 2 — It was able to give military instruction to civilians, and train them for rebellion and conflict with government forces.
- 3 — Its members could promote the unlawful aims of the party by an abuse of their military uniform and rank; for example they were able to facilitate the flight of party prisoners from prison, or secure exemption papers from military service for Tudeh youths who were liable to this service, or protect Tudeh members from prosecution by military courts.
- 4 — This organisation could, by means of a powerful fifth column within the army, mutiny at a suitable moment against the national government, and destroy or explode military installations, aircraft, warships, arms and munition arsenals, and pave the way for the Tudeh party to assume power.

This organisation became very weak after the destruction of the Democratic party and their puppet government in Azarbeyejan in 1946, and only a small nucleus remained. But in 1950 this organisation, supported by the central committee of the party, performed a dangerous action, and facilitated the flight of 10 effective Tudeh prisoners. Khosrow Rouzbeh, who was one of this group and a most

active Tudeh officer, supervised this organisation and thenceforth it grew rapidly so that by 1954 the number of its members rose to 600, including the commander of the battalion of the Royal Guard.

The military authorities of Tehran, after much watchful effort, found the ciphered documents of the Tudeh Officers' Organisation, and at last on 12 August 1954 discovered the organisation itself. The members were all arrested and handed over to the military courts.

The influential members of this organisation revealed during the interrogation many facts concerning the policy and aims of their organisation, an account of which would be necessary for the contemporary generation's judgement. Lieutenant-Colonel Mobbasher who was responsible for the administration of the said organisation makes the following statements in his own handwriting and signature in the interrogation form:—

**Cross-examiner:** Explain briefly whether you officers who created such an organisation under these conditions, and openly admit that you followed the method of the dissolved Tudeh party, were communists in principle or not?

**Answer:** Yes.

**Question:** Why did you create an organisation and take such steps?

**Answer :** To destroy the foundation of monarchy and government.

**Question:** Why did you decide to destroy monarchy and government?

**Answer :** We thought this was the way to reform society and the country, and that was a mistake .....  
.....Because we considered the socialistic and communistic regime to be in the interest of the people.

The police captain Nezam-eddin Madani made the following confession:—

Cross-examiner's question: What was your aim and purpose?

Briefly describe your ultimate objective.

Answer : The aim was to increase the number of officer members of the organisation, and the ultimate objective was to seize the government, to destroy monarchy and establish a Tudeh republic. This republic is one in which all classes of people besides landowners and capitalists participate, but in which no other policy or opinion except that of the Tudeh party is allowed, and the government is under the leadership of the party.

At the conclusion of the trial in the primary courts and re-hearing in higher courts, 69 of these members were sentenced to death, but the King with his usual kindness and mercy mitigated the death sentence of 42 of them by one degree, and allowed them to be sentenced to imprisonment for life with labour, while the other 27 who were the real leaders of this organisation were executed. As for the remaining guilty persons, they were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment, for life or short terms of 18 months' correctional imprisonment. Thus ended the disgraceful life of an organisation which sought its eminence and greatness in the destruction of the national unity of Iran as well as its sovereignty and independence.

### **Oil Agreement**

The negotiations which went on between the representative of the Ministry of Finance and the National Iranian Oil Company with those of the Consortium which was composed of five American companies, one British, one Dutch and one French company, reached a final agreement in September 1954, and a formal agreement was drawn up and signed consisting of two sections, the first one comprising 51 Articles and two appendices concerning the purchase and sale of oil and gas and administration of the operations; the second comprised five Articles concerning the payment of

the indemnity of nationalisation to the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The law authorising the exchange of the said agreement was ratified by the lower House on 21 October 1954, and by the Senate on 28 October 1954.

In this new agreement, on one side are the Iranian government and the National Oil Company, and on the other is the Consortium consisting of eight companies in the first section, and the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in the second section. The companies which form the Consortium are as follows: —

Gulf Oil Corporation  
Socony-Vacuum Oil Company Incorporated  
Standard Oil Company  
The Texan Company  
Anglo-Iranian Oil Company Limited  
Standard Oil Company of California  
N.V. De Bataafsche Petroleum Maatschappij  
Company Francaise Des Pétroles

According to this agreement, the Consortium is given the right of exploration, extraction, refining, transport and sale of oil in a limited zone called the agreement zone, as well as the right of utilising parts of the existing properties in the said zone for twenty-five years, with the option of prolonging it for three periods of five years each. It was also agreed that for the fulfilment of the new undertakings by the Consortium, two companies, both of which are Dutch and are attached to the Dutch member of the Consortium, should be formed bearing these names:

Iraanse Aardolie Exploratie en Productie Maatschappij. N.V;

Iraanse Aardolie Raffinage Maatschappij. N.V.  
to be called "Agent Companies" over which the National Oil Company will have the right of supervision to safeguard the interests of Iran.

To fulfil the obligations related to the sale and exportation of oil, each of the companies undertook to create a

commercial company to be registered in Iran to buy from the National Iranian Oil Company the crude oil at a price equivalent to 12.5 percent of the price advertised in the Persian Gulf, that is, the price offered to all buyers, and pay this price which is called "Definite Payment" in the agreement to the National Oil Company. Then they are to sell it at the advertised price, deduct expenses, and pay the Iranian government half of the revenue as income tax (after deducting the sums paid under Definite Payment.) The Agreement Zone covers an area of 100,000 square kilometers in the south and south-west of Iran, and includes all the oil resources held by the former Anglo-Iranian Oil Company until nationalisation.

In the second part of the agreement, which is drawn up to settle the question of indemnity between the Iranian government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the Iranian Government undertook to pay 25 million pounds in ten equal instalments as indemnity to the said company, and in this way to bring to an end the differences and conflicts between Iran, the Oil Company and Great Britain.

The new oil agreement with the Consortium, as declared by Dr. Amini, then Minister of Finance, when the Bill concerning it was submitted to the Parliament, was not ideal for Iran. But in the articular circumstances of time and place, and bearing in mind the financial poverty of the Iranian treasury at the close of 1953, and the necessity of securing revenue from the oil resources which had been stopped for some years, the conclusion of this agreement may be considered as one of the achievements of the Zahedi government in improving the fiscal and economic conditions of the country. This is particularly true as the politial stability of Iran, and ratification of the agreement by Parliament and the King won the confidence of American and European capitalists and the International Bank, and other financial and economic circles of great countries towards Iran, and the government was able to obtain credits from Great Britain

and the United States, an unfavourable step in the particular condition of those days in Iran.

### **Obtaining Credit from Great Britain and the United States**

The urgent need of amelioration in the government's fiscal condition and the implementations of economic development resolved the government to obtain foreign credit on the basis of the oil agreement with the Consortium which would provide a source of revenue for the future. As most of the members of the Consortium belonged to the United States and Great Britain, the Zahedi government began to negotiate with these two governments to secure financial credit. It is necessary to mention here that since the beginning of the year 1953, the U.S. government had included Iran in Truman's Point Four programme, and American Point Four technical organisations had co-operated with the Iranian government by means of the creation of joint funds for the execution of a part of the educational and health programmes. Moreover in August-September 1953 President Eisenhower devoted 45 million dollars as an urgent financial aid to Iran in the form of a monthly payment of five million dollars, which continued until September 1956, and was reduced on that date because of the new oil revenues.

After agreement was reached between the Iranian government and American and British authorities concerning the granting of credit, the following Bill was approved by the lower House on 24 February 1955, and by the Senate on 10 March 1955.

"Single Article — The government is authorised to obtain up to 150 million dollars' credit from the United States, and up to 10 million pounds from the British Government for the purpose of safeguarding the expenditure arising from development and productive programmes as well as the urgent needs of the country.

Out of this sum the government can devote 75

million dollars to meet urgent needs.

The rate of interest for the 10 million pounds will be 4% per annum, and for the 75 million dollars which is to meet urgent needs 3% per annum, and the remaining 75 million dollars at the rate of interest of the day the loan is received, on condition that this rate is not higher than that charged by the Washington Bank of Imports and Exports in similar cases.

The 10 million pounds shall be liquidated within five years, beginning after two years; the 75 million dollars devoted to urgent needs in 35 years, and the remaining 75 million dollars will vary according to the kind of activity to which it has been devoted. Technical conditions such as the manner of amortization etc. shall be determined between the government of Iran and the American and British Governments."

#### **Irano-Soviet frontier and financial problems**

One of the achievements of the Zahedi government with regard to foreign policy was the solution of the frontier and financial problems of Iran with the U.S.S.R. Discussions related to the frontier questions had for many years been going on between the frontier missions of both countries, and by December 2nd 1955 they led to a formal agreement between the representatives of Iran and Soviet Russia. It was signed in Tehran by Hamid Sayah, Iranian ambassador in Moscow, and Anatoli Yusefvitch Laverentinov, Soviet ambassador in Tehran, and was ratified by the House of Representatives on 24 February 1955, and by the Senate on 10 March 1955. It comprises five Articles and one protocol and refers to the solution of two important problems:—

1 — The final determination of the Iran-Soviet frontiers in the region beyond the Caucasus (in Azerbayejan) and beyond the Caspian (in the region of Khorassan) and settlement of all the

frontier claims of the two neighbouring governments.

2 — According to Article 4 of the Agreement, the U.S.S.R. undertakes to take the following steps for the payment of its second World War debts to Iran, as well as the financial claims of Iran related to the Irano-Soviet agreement pertaining to the payments made to Soviet Russia by Iran in rials during the war:—

- A) The Government Bank of the U.S.S.R. will deliver within two weeks' formal recognition of the agreement, 11,169,070.3 grams of gold at the frontier railway station of Julfa to the Bank Melli Iran, to amortize the claims of Iran related to the agreement pertaining to war-time payments.
- B) Within one year from the date that the agreement becomes official the Soviet government will liquidate its debt of 8,648,619.07 American dollars to Iran in the form of goods. The kind and quantity of goods and time of delivery will be determined by direct negotiation between the Soviet commercial representatives in Iran and those of the Iranian Ministry of Public Economy.

In the last part of Article 4 it is stated that all the mutual financial claims of both sides are to be considered as liquidated, and both sides declare that with the conclusion of this agreement they have no financial claims against each other related to the Second World War.

#### **The New Government**

Marshal Zahedi resigned premiership on 5 April 1955, and Hossein Ala was appointed Prime Minister. He presented his cabinet and his programme to the Parliament on 16 April 1955 and secured a vote of confidence of 92 votes out

of 102 present.

His programme was drawn up in the form of one article, and while glorifying the rising of August 19 and the services rendered by the Zahedi government, he described the future policy of the government in the following terms:

“Now that I have been instructed by His Majesty to form a government, I consider it opportune to draw the attention of the deputies to several points which I shall describe briefly. After the historical rising of the nation on August 19th 1953 which will be recorded as one of the most brilliant pages of our history, the former government managed with the guidance of His Majesty, the support of the people and your collaboration to gain success in the foreign policy of Iran, in the establishment of friendly relations with other far and near countries, and particularly in the securing of fiscal and financial aid from the United States whose effects in the financial and economic conditions of Iran are worthy of appreciation by the Iranian nation and government, and in this way to serve the nation and country. Another important achievement was the solution of the oil question which was one of the greatest difficulties in the way of this country. It was also in the time of the former government that the disciplinary forces under the leadership of the Shahinshah succeeded in establishing security throughout the country.

Now the government wishes to continue the same policy with regard to foreign policy, the maintenance of security and the fight against trouble-makers. Its aim and programme will be included in no more than one article, to improve the condition of the people and working classes by increasing production and raising the level of education and public health, and bringing about such social reforms as have always been the most important and best objectives of our King.

To improve the social and economic conditions and to safeguard the welfare of the people, all the administrative and economic institutions in the country must be free from contamination and infamy, and in so far as possible people's business must be handed over to themselves. My government will, with the support of His Majesty and both Houses and nation, do its utmost to fight against corruption and dishonesty and uproot them, and punish dishonest individuals in whatever rank or position they may be, and will enforce the law for all the people in the country. Of course it is also the aim of my government, in conformity with the views of His Majesty, to give encouragement to honest, competent, learned and loyal individuals.

In conclusion I hope, with God's help and His Majesty's favour and Parliament's support, to succeed in serving the country and nation."

### **...Attempt on the Premier's Life**

On 16 November 1955 when Hossein Ala was leaving for Bagdad to participate in the Council of Ministers of the Bagdad Treaty, an attempt was made on his life by a terrorist called Mozzafar Zolhadr, a "Devotee of Islm." The bullet only scratched Ala's head, so that he was able to leave the next day for Bagdad.

The prevalence of assassination after September 1941 in Iran, considering the fact that homicide is definitely forbidden in Islam, is due to certain causes some of which will be mentioned here:—

I — In the time of Reza Shah ecclesiastical authorities were not allowed to interfere in political matters, and those who used their spiritual position to gain political power and influence, particularly those whose gain involved losses for others, who used religion as a pretext for their indecent actions, were driven out of the ecclesiastical world. But after the events of September 1941 when disorder rei-

gned supreme and Iran was under the Allied occupation, as political anarchy and chaos increased, the insolence and boldness of these individuals who were ostracised from the ecclesiastical society increased, and once more the way was paved for their interference in political matters and their attempt to regain power.

2 — The first manifestation of power by these reactionaries and fanatics was the tragic murder of Seyed Ahmad Kassravi on 11 March 1964 in the court of law by a fanatic who had been instigated by reactionaries. The weakness shown by the government of Ghavam against the pressure of these reactionaries and fanatics in abstaining from the prosecution of the murderer, augmented the insolence and boldness of this group of "Devotees of Islam". Following a few proclamations issued by the patrons of Kassravi's murderer, Ghavam's government let him free to taint his hands with the blood of Abdol-Hossein Hajir on 5 November 1949.

3 — The harmful propaganda of the Tudeh party against the ruling classes, even though that party pretended to reject individual assassination, perforce encouraged homicide and corruption among discontented elements. It is odd that a criminal like Nasser Fakhrarai, who made an attempt on the life of the King in the premises of Tehran University, was at the same time attached to the Tudeh party and this group of fanatics. Although these two groups apparently stood at opposite poles, yet they had common goals, that is, both of them wanted to gain power by creating confusion and assassinating influential individuals, with this difference that the Tudeh party wanted to seize the reins of government, while the reactionaries and fanatics wished to rule over the emotion, and minds of the nation so that they could check any intellectual or social change which might put an end to their power.

4 — The assassination of Ahmad Dehghan, editor of Tehran Mossaver journal, and member of parliament, the

attempt on the life or Dr. Seyed Hassan Emami religious leader of Tehran, the murder of Marshal Razm-Ara the Premier, and finally the assassination or Dr. Zangeneh, Minister of Education in the Razm-Ara cabinet, all happened in 1950-1951. As they wished, the reactionaries managed to create terror, the first product of which was public panic and loss of security for the authorities, and its ultimate result was the loss of confidence by the people in the power of all governments.

5 — The reaction of the Parliament and Kashani and some of the editors and journalists attached to the National Front to the assassination of Razm-Ara was so odd and unprecedented that no parallel can be found in the history of Iran or that of many other countries of the world. Kashani boldly called the murderer of Razm-Ara, Khalil Tahmasbi, his own spiritual son, and embraced him. Writers of the National Front papers praised the murderer's action and called him a national hero, and finally the 17th Legislature approved the bill pardoning and liberating Tahmasbi, and considered his cowardly deed a service rendered to the country and nation. The Senate refused to ratify this Bill, and it was never given the royal assent to become a law. But the government of the National Front considered its ratification by the lower House sufficient, and liberated the Premier's murderer to prepare for other crimes in conjunction with other accomplices.

The military authorities of Tehran at once began to interrogate Mozzafar Zolghadr after his attempt on the life of Ala, and as his connection with the "Devotees of Islam" was proved beyond doubt, the leader of that group and Tahmasbi and its active elements were arrested and tried. The military court found them guilty of crimes and sentenced them to death.

## The 19th Legislature

The royal decree for the election of the 19th legislature was issued before the end of the term of the 18th legislature. The 19th legislature was formally opened by His Majesty, after an interregnum of 45 days, on 31 May 1956, and began to work on 10 June 1956.

The 19th legislature is the only one since the 1st Parliament which lasted four years in accordance with the decision of the Congress, an account of which will be given afterwards. Since it had more opportunity to consider and ratify laws, the total of the approved laws of this legislature amounted to 612 items. This Parliament after the usual nomination of two of its members as overseers of bank-note reserves in accordance with the constitution of the Melli Iran Bank, gave a vote of confidence to Ala's government with a majority of 110 out of 114 present.

The new programme of this government, unlike its earlier one, contained many points and promises of reform concerning security, the strengthening of defensive forces, the improvement of economic and social conditions including the increase of production with all possible means such as promoting agricultural, industrial and mineral banks, exploration and extraction of fresh oil resources, procuring of foreign capital etc. The foreign policy of this government was based on the United Nations' Charter and friendship with all other countries on the basis of mutual respect, and support of the Bagdad Treaty to strengthen the foundations of world peace.

The government of Ala under the guidance of the King was able to carry out a part of its programme, and make progress in economic fields and expansion of political and commercial relations with other countries, an account of which will be given later. Here it is sufficient to mention that the watchful and constant care of the military government of Tehran and the watchfulness of the disciplinary for-

ces, and the execution of the instructions of the King by both the governments of Zahedi and Ala, helped to create law and order in the country, as a result of which both governments, especially that of Ala, were able to execute their programme of reform with a greater assurance. Once more this indisputable and undeniable fact was revealed to the Iranian nation that no material and intellectual progress is possible without individual and collective security which depends on the disciplinary and defensive forces of the country which must perform their heavy duties under the leadership of the King.

### **Sanctioned Laws of the Congress**

After the resignation of Ala on 3 April 1957, Dr. Manuchehr Eghbal, Chancellor of Tehran University, was appointed Prime Minister by His Majesty, and was given a vote of confidence by the lower House with a majority of 110 out of 114 present on 14 April. The programme of this government consisted of an appreciation of the work done by Ala's government, following its foreign policy under the leadership of His Majesty, and strengthening the Bagdad Treaty. Its home policy consisted of positive and useful work, that is the rapid carrying out of programmes of production and development, attracting private capital to industrial and productive units, and continuation of past measures with regard to the prohibition of poppy cultivation and the use of opium, the expansion of literacy and learning and communications, the acceleration of the division of crown lands, and utilization of underground resources, particularly that of oil.

Most of the members of Dr. Eghbal's cabinet were appointed minister for the first time. It was in this cabinet that the creation of the Security Organisation and Information was formally declared, and its head was presented to the Parliament as Deputy Prime Minister.

In issuing the proclamation for the election of the

19th legislature, the King had permitted the formation of a single house, named Congress. Dr. Eghbal took preliminary steps for this, and the Congress (consisting of the members of both Houses) began its work of revising Articles 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the Constitution and Article 49 of the supplementary Law of the Constitution on 7 May 1957, and in all the sessions the Speaker of the Senate acted as Chairman.

The revised Articles were ratified by the majority in the Congress on May 16 and received the royal assent. They are as follows:—

**Article 4** — The number of deputies for the capital and provinces shall be two hundred, and every ten years in case of an increase in population in every constituency as shown by official census, one deputy shall be added for every hundred thousand people. Division into constituencies shall be made in accordance with a separate law.

**Article 5** — The term of membership of the House of Representatives is four years, which includes the 19th legislature. Before the expiry of this period, the election must be renewed in accordance with the law. Every legislature shall begin its term on the date of the ratification of the credentials of more than half of the members. Former deputies are eligible for re-election.

**Article 6** — The Parliament meets as soon as two-thirds of the deputies are present in Tehran.

**Article 7** — The Parliament can begin discussions with any number of deputies present, but for the purpose of voting the presence of more than half the members present in the capital is necessary, and a majority of votes is obtained when more than half of the members present in the session vote for or against the point under consideration.

**Article 8** — The length of the parliamentary recess

and term depends on the inner parliamentary regulations. After the summer vacation, the parliament must resume work on August 4 which coincides with the anniversary of the opening of Parliament.

**Article 49 of the Supplementary Law of the Constitution** — It is the privilege of the King to issue decrees for the enforcement of laws without causing any delay or detention of the said laws. If the King considers it necessary to revise the laws pertaining to financial matters which peculiarly belong to Parliament, they will be submitted to the Parliament for consideration, and if the Parliament confirms the view of the previous legislature by a majority of three-fourths of the members present in the capital, it will receive the royal assent.

### **The Second Seven-Year Plan**

The execution of the First Seven-Year Plan which had been ratified by the Parliament on 16 February 1949, was interrupted from the beginning of 1951 as a result of the oil crisis and the subsequent cessation of oil revenue and the government's financial difficulties; for most of the funds earmarked for the Seven-Year Plan were spent for the current expenditure of the government, and this situation continued until the year 1954.

The law of the Second Seven-Year Plan of Development was ratified by both Houses on 27 February 1956. It comprised 21 Articles and two Notes. The objectives mentioned in Article I of the Plan are as follows:— Increase of production, improvement and increase of exports, provision of public necessities at home, development of agriculture and industry, exploration and exploitation of underground mineral resources, improvement and perfection of the means of communication, amelioration of public health, and all other activities needed for the development of the country and for raising the level of education and the standard of living.

The provisional credits approved by the law was 70 milliard rials, but since it was found in practice that this sum did not meet the needs of enforcement expenditure, a joint committee of both Houses ratified an increase of credits by 20 percent, and raised the figure from 70 to 84 milliard rials. But when the government necessarily reduced the share of the Organisation from the oil revenue, and it was found that the execution of this 84 milliard rial plan was not possible without a loan, agreements were drawn up for a loan from the United States and some European countries, from which credit allocation about 25 milliard rials were used up by the end of the period of the second Seven-Year Plan.

Although the Seven-Year Plan did not attain all its ultimate goals, the government and Plan Organisation were fairly successful in their reconstruction and production operations in the years 1955 to 1962. This success caused the question of economic and social growth and development to be considered a national objective, and everyone was convinced that an improvement in the condition of the people was possible only by means of the execution of an economic plan.

The Second plan of reconstruction and development attracted the attention of responsible authorities, parties and political groups, and brought a close relationship between government activities and budgeting. Oil revenues were earmarked for development operations, and the social and economic growth of the country, and thus a principle of policy of production and development was formed to be followed by various governments.

### **The latest Political Crisis**

The government of Dr. Eghbal was constantly supported by the King on account of its conscientious work and good service. It lasted three years and a few months and eventually resigned on 28 August 1960. On 31 August Engineer Sharif Emami was appointed Prime Minister, and since

the lower House had come to the end of its term on 9 June 1960, and the next legislature (the 20th) which had been elected at the beginning of summer had been annulled because of a number of illegalities in the election, he presented his cabinet to the King and then to the Senate which had begun its new life on 10 April 1960, and secured a vote of confidence. The annulment of the summer election of 1960 had several reasons, the most important of which were the open interference of a number of government and military authorities in it, and illegal collusions of some of the influential candidates in the constituencies, the use of fraudulent votes, etc.

The new government took steps for the renewal of the election of the 20th Parliament, which was formally opened by the King on 21 February 1961, and began to function on 2nd March, and gave Emami's government a vote of confidence.

This re-election, too, met with the protests of several parties, and a violent campaign was started by the press attached to various parties and factions against it, leading to great demonstrations by teachers in the Parliament Square in which one of the demonstrators was killed. The government resigned on 4 May 1961, and once more the King took the initiative in his hands at a critical moment, and after appointing Dr. Ali Amini as Premier, issued a decree annualizing both Houses of Parliament on 9 May 1961. Thus the Third Senate lasted one year and 28 days, and the House of Representatives only two months and 17 days.

The work done by the 20th legislature, during its short life including the New Year recess, was the ratification of the Bill authorising the payment of one month's salary and government expenditure, a Bill granting assistant professorship to the staff of the college of Divinity of Tehran, and several resolutions including a vote of confidence given to Emami's government.

After the dissolution of Parliament the King assum-

ed the leadership of the government with unshakable resolution. It is worthy of notice that the greatest social and economic transformation whose foundation had been laid by the lofty mind and originality of the King, was effected at a time when Parliament was suspended, and this interregnum lasted 28 months and 25 days. At the end of this period the 21st House of Representatives and 4th Senate were formally opened by King on 6 October 1963.

The government of Dr. Amini was entrusted with the careful execution of the project of land reform, and it managed to carry out a part of this programme. But in the early part of the year 1962 it began to show impotence in the solution of the economic and financial problems of the country, and resigned on 18 July 1962. Amir Assadolah Alam was appointed Prime Minister by the King on 21 July. Alam's government was one of the most honest and active governments in the last twenty years, and worked zealously and conscientiously to carry out the King's wishes related to great social and economic changes. During this time the progressive party of "Modern Iran" was created with a programme of social and economic transformation. When Alam resigned, Hassan-Ali Mansour, secretary-general of the "Modern Iran" party who had gained a majority in the parliamentary elections was appointed Prime Minister two days after Alam's resignation, that is, on 7 March 1964.

### **The Baharestan Incident**

The election of the 21st House of Representatives and 4th Senate took place in the summer of 1963 during Alam's government, and the "Modern Iran" party led by Mansour gained a majority in the lower house and he was nominated Premier by the King.

The composition of this Parliament was very much different from the previous ones, for a number of individuals were for the first time elected from among the agricultural and working classes as well as enlightened young men who

sincerely believed in a social revolution. Moreover, a number of women found their way to the seats in both Houses in consequence of the liberty given to women in electing and being elected.

Mansour's government was a parliamentary one and relied on the support of the King and Parliament. During this time, owing to the shrewdness and insight of the King in international matters and his numerous trips to near and distant countries, and in consequence of political stability and judicial security in the country, the foreign policy of Iran, too, found a logically sound basis. Foreign capitalists had been won over, and big companies and legal personalities were eager to participate in the productive and reconstruction programmes of Iran. Mansour negotiated at opportune moments for new agreements concerning the exploration and exploitation of oil resources in the plateau of Iran and in the Persian Gulf. Finally projects of five agreements on the basis of 75 shares for Iran drawn up with foreign companies were submitted to the Parliament.

On 21 January 1965 when Mansour was entering Parliament to submit the new oil Bills, he was shot at the entrance of the Parliament, and although for five days every effort was made by Iranian and foreign surgeons and physicians to save him, they failed and he died on 26 January, adding another person to the victims of fanatical and reactionary assassins.

The tragic murder of the young and active Premier of Iran created a deep sorrow all over the country, and the King was particularly stricken with grief. In the General Assembly of the United Nations the delegates of 12 countries rose and observed one minute's silence in memory of the Iranian Premier, and the Secretary-general of the Organisation called Mansour "a great friend of the United Nations' Organisation."

This incident spread a wave of anger and hatred against fanatics and reactionary circles, but it did not deviate Mansour's friends and supporters from the course they had

adopted to carry out the wishes of the King. Now the King appointed Amir-Abass Hoveyda, who had been Minister of Finance in Mansour's cabinet, as Prime Minister, and the same party government and the same cabinet members carried on the programme of Mansour's government.

## 2 — Agricultural Development

### Apportioning of Crown Lands

The pitiful condition of the Iranian farmer and his unfavourable way of living under the domination of big land-owners as well as his civil and social privations were problems which constantly occupied the King's mind. In his address to Parliamentary deputies and other responsible authorities he repeatedly pointed out the need of the establishment of social justice and amelioration of the living conditions of farmers who composed 75 percent of the population of the country and were the biggest wealth-producing class in Iran. He had envisaged various programmes for this purpose, some of which he described as follows in a press interview at Hotel Waldorf Astoria on 19 November 1949 on his first visit to the United States:—

“The programmes I intend to carry out involve the sale of extensive lands to the government by big landowners and landlords who do not show any particular interest in their property, so that the government may apportion and sell them at the same price at small instalments to farmers. Thus Iranian farmers will be able to cultivate their own lands. According to this programme each farmer will be able to pay his debt in about 20 to 25 years.”

To put an end to the distressed and sorry condition of Iranian farmers, the King decided to lead the way as he had done in other respects, and hoped that if he apportioned the crown lands, other landowners would follow his example. Therefore, he ordered the apportionment of his private pro-

property, and the first village to be thus apportioned was the village of Davud-Abad in Varamin. This property was 1496 hectares in area, and was divided on 26 February 1951 among 143 farming households, each farmer getting 8.5 hectares.

From that date until April 1962 altogether 517 villages totalling an area of 199,628 hectares were divided among 42,203 farmers, and during this period elementary schools, hospitals, public baths and agricultural schools were established in the apportioned lands, and deep wells were dug. By the King's command, the Bank of Rural Development and Assistance was founded with a gift capital of 15 million rials provided by His Majesty, to aid farmers in cash and kind, and gradually the old-fashioned and worn-out system of cultivation was transformed into a scientific modern one.

The daring step taken by the King which was in reality the first phase of social transformation, was insupportable to feudal landowners who had always considered their peasantry as their chattel. They did not only refuse to follow this fine example, but showed stupid obstinacy against the fatalism of time and changing circumstances. During the years 1951-3 they even made use of the political crises to check the enforcement of this programme of the apportionment of crown lands. Once more on 1st July 1954, the King, addressing the Senators who had been given an audience, pointed out the urgent necessity of apportioning extensive lands, and said:—

“..... That same class which can render service, those who are wealthy, those who cannot supervise and control their extensive lands or ameliorate the conditions of their farmers, should begin to improve their own condition; that is, if they cannot continue the work of cultivation in such a way as to save their peasants from present poverty and distress, they should take steps for the sale of their property to create small landowners.”

This kindly reminder had no effect on landowners, and the King in his second trip to the United States in a press con-

ference in San Francisco on 16 December 1954 expressed his regret that big landowners had not followed his example in apportioning their lands, and hoped that they would eventually find it advisable to do so.

### **The Law of the Sale of Public Domains**

Following the apportionment of the Crown Land, the government was instructed by the King to prepare a Bill for the sale of Public Domains, particularly arable land to farmers. But owing to the movement for the nationalism of oil followed by political crises and internal chaos and disturbances in the legislature and even in the administration, this matter was postponed. With the political stability following the rising of 19 August 1953, and the establishment of security in the country, the government of Ala submitted a Bill to both Houses for the sale of Public domains, which was ratified on 21 November 1955 in the House of Representatives and on 20 December in the Senate.

This law comprises 13 Articles and 29 notes. The First Article runs as follows:—

“Article One — The Ministry of Agriculture is charged to take steps in accordance with the provisions of this law, for the sale of all public domains including villages, farms, utilized and unused subterranean canals, real estates and buildings which definitely belong to the government, with the exception of pastures and natural forests, as well as the domains, buildings and estates which are needed by government institutions, the list of which will be submitted to the related committee of both Houses.”

In this law the kind and particulars of the lands and real estates were explicitly determined, and the functions of the Ministries of Finance and Agriculture were clearly defined with regard to the execution of this law. The government domains in the towns and suburbs were to be sold to civil

servants, while arable lands were earmarked for sale to farmers who were actually engaged in cultivating them. Farmers were to undertake to pay the price of 10 to 15 hectares of the purchased land by instalments in 20 years. This apportioning of public domain took place at the same time as that of crown lands, and 57,766.7 hectares of public domain were sold in accordance with this law to 7,081 farmers.

Both these steps were effective in liberating the peasantry and encouraging it to a greater effort. It was the first blow delivered to the tyrannical system of feudalism and big landownership, and served as the vanguard of a great transformation which was to be effected by the initiative and lofty mind of the Shahinshah.

### **Land Reform**

The Bill of Land Reform was based on limiting land ownership and transforming the old and worn-out feudal regime. It was drawn up by the Eghbal government on the King's instruction, revised by the Emami government and submitted to the 20th Legislature for ratification. The deputies, most of whom were big landowners, changed the main items of the proposed Bill as an amendment, and gave it a form quite different from what was intended by the King, and contrary to the interests of farming classes. In fact they killed the spirit of this law and destroyed its objective.

Some of the amendments which both Houses proposed presumably to perfect the law of Land Reform submitted by the government will be mentioned below:—

- 1.— Landowners were permitted to transfer parts of their property to their legal heirs within two years of the date of the ratification of this law. This made it impossible to determine what persons this law was applicable to until two years expired. Moreover, a landowner was allowed to keep as much of the land as he could change from dry farming into irrigated land for himself, and

as much of the land as he wished to transfer to others on condition that he paid a certain sum in Development tax to the government.

- 2 — A landowner was allowed to sell as much of his land as he wished in any district to farmers before the enforcement of the law.
- 3 — To determine the price of the property an assessment commission was to be set up in each case, and if its verdict was not acceptable to the land-owner he could object, and this objection would be considered in the provincial commission within six months, and if this verdict was unacceptable to him again, the matter would be referred to the court, whose verdict would be final.
- 4 — The important point in the amendment was that if a landowner was opposed to the law of Land Reform he could abstain from the sale or transfer of the excess of his land, and only pay a small Development tax for the surplus land.

The 20th Legislature was, as mentioned before, dissolved by the royal decree on the suggestion of Dr. Amini's government which assumed the direct responsibility of drawing up the Bill for land reform under the leadership of His Majesty. This law was approved by the cabinet on 1st January 1962, and received the royal assent on January 15, and was communicated to the Ministry of Agriculture for execution.

The township of Maraghé in eastern Azarbayejan was the first district where distressed farmers received their deeds of ownership at His Majesty's hand. After the preliminary steps were taken with regard to organisation and legal advertisement and transfer of properties to the government, on 8 March 1963 the deeds of transfer from the government to farmers were signed and handed to them by the King on 13 March. Thus the Shahinshah began something which was unprecedented in the whole history of Iran and the Middle East

and many other countries in the world. It was the turning point which transformed the social and political life of the nation.

The first phase of the law of Land Reform, which was ratified later by the 21st House of Representatives and the 4th Senate, was related to big landowners who possessed extensive lands or at least more than one village. By this law such landowners, some of whom possessed more than fifty villages and farms, were allowed to select one whole village for themselves, and sell the rest to the government at 10 year instalments. After fair assessment, the government, on the basis of a guarantee by the Ministry of Agriculture would pay the price of the said properties to the owners, and transfer these purchased lands to farmers at 15 year instalments. The farmers would liquidate their debt by equal instalments paid to the Ministry of Agriculture in 15 years. Thus by the middle of September 1964, about 9887 villages were purchased and apportioned among 342, 204 farming households numbering 1,710,948 persons, who in this way became landowners, and found economic independence and social and human rights.

The efforts of the landowners who had not understood changing conditions and the exigencies of the time and wished to place obstacles against the firm resolution of the King, proved fruitless. Such steps as nightly meetings of these feudal landowners with reactionaries to plot against the government, to instigate armed robbers to make some of the southern highways insecure, the plot for the foul murder of a zealous young agricultural engineer in the province of Farss, and the resort to foreigners for help did not hinder the progress of this programme of the King, who expressed his satisfaction with land reform and agricultural improvements in the following terms:—

“I am fully pleased with the interest and zeal which have been shown in my country for agricultural reform. .... I have always felt anxiety about Iranian

farmers, but when I regard their future, I see a pleasing, hopeful and beautiful panorama in my mind's eyes."

With the purchase and sale of land among farmers, co-operative rural societies were established with the capital of farmers themselves and the assistance of the Agricultural Bank. The number of such societies rose to 3989 by September 1964, with a capital amounting to 457,638,456 rials, and the membership of 638,000 farmers.

In the first phase of this reform a number of farmers secured land, but another group continued to work as labourers in villages to which the law did not apply or where land-owners had chosen for themselves the maximum land allowed by the law; therefore no change had appeared in the condition of such peasants. To bring about some kind of homogeneity for farmers throughout the country, with regard to social and economic rights, the King took steps for the ratification of a supplementary law, approved on 17 January 1963, by which every landowner had to choose one of the following three alternatives:—

- A) To give his land in rent to the farmer cultivating the same land on the basis of the average revenue of the last three years of that land, without including taxes, and in accordance with local usage. The period of renting was to be thirty years, subject to a revision of the rent every five years.
- B) The landowner could divide the land between himself and his farmers in proportion to the possessory share which he received from the farmers before.
- C) He could sell the maximum land allowed by the law to farmers with mutual consent.

In addition to private property, the villages which were included in the list of public endowments could by this law be rented for 99 years to farmers engaged in cultivating them.

The regulations for the enforcement of this law were

approved by Parliament on 25 July 1964, and soon after the second phase of the land reform began decisively under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture.

### **Provision of Water**

To provide water for cultivation, in 1955 the independent institution of Irrigation was established, and during the last ten years around two milliard rials out of the public budget and oil revenue have been devoted to its activities. The King himself contributed a gift of 27 million rials. This institution has made valuable surveys in the country concerning irrigation and dam-building, each of which has served in the expansion of agriculture and in raising the level of cultivation and production.

Along the useful measures taken under the guidance of the King for agricultural development can be mentioned surveys in hydrology and hydrogeology, study of earth properties, mapping and preparation of irrigation projects, digging of deep and semi-deep wells, building of big and small dams by the Irrigation Institution and fifteen irrigation companies in important agricultural districts such as Dashté Moghan, Khu-zestan, Farss, Isfahan and Sistan.

In the second Reconstruction Programme mentioned before, two-thirds of the credits were devoted to dam-build-ing, and various projects for irrigation and regulating the course of the rivers with abundant water for the purpose of irrigation to make up for inadequacy of rainfall were carried out successfully.

Beside the small dams built in various parts of the country which are effective in providing water for irrigation and agricultural expansion, such as the Kahak and Zehak dams in Sistan, Karkhé in Ahwaz, Bampour in Iranshahr, Shaban-kare in Farss, Kuhrang in Bakhtiari, Zarine-Roud in Miando-wab, Seyghalan in Rasht, Heshmat-Roud in Lahijan, Cheghel-vandi in Lorestan, Alvand in Ghasr Shirin, Ravansar in Ker-

manshahan, a number of big dams such as Karaj Dam, Safid-Roud, Mohammad-Reza-Shah dam in Dezful, Shahnaz Dam in Hamadan have been built in the last 10 years with a total capacity of 5,000 million cubic metres, and a generating electric capacity of over 700,000 kilowatts. The Mohammad-Reza-Shah dam which was as usual opened by the King in 1962, is the highest in the Middle East, and the sixth biggest in the world. The total area of the lands irrigated by the said four dams is about 317,200 hectares.

To make it possible for petty landowners and farmers to participate in providing water for irrigation, the Agricultural Credit Bank gives loans at low interest on the basis of collective security to farmers or direct to landowners. In consequence of the financial aid and technical guidance given by the Irrigation Institution, a total of 1170 deep and semi-deep wells and artesian wells were dug by 1964, leading to an increase of 38,124 hectares of land for cultivation.

### **Animal Husbandry**

Scientific animal husbandry and breed improvement began in Iran in the reign of Reza Shah, and the Institute of Heydar-Abad was established for breeding animals and fowls from the most well-known breeds in the world. But this activity came to a stand-still with the commencement of the Second World War and occupation of Iran by foreign forces. Thenceforth little activity was shown in this field on account of internal Political disturbances. In 1954 once more the Ministry of Agriculture took fresh steps for supporting these institutions, and the improvement in the breeds of animals and birds and animal products led to an increase in the home demands for such products, and more and more capital was invested in this business.

The important difference between the present animal husbandry and fowl breeding and that of twenty years ago is that formerly such activities were limited to village dwellers

and tribes and were carried on according to traditional ways and without any regard for technical and scientific methods. But since that time this activity has been carried on in the suburbs of Tehran and other big and small towns by capitalists or companies, so that while in 1953 the total capacity of incubators was 5,000 only, in 1962 it amounted to 12 million eggs, and over one milliard rials were invested in fowl breeding by the people.

On the whole there are about 58 million cows, oxen, sheep, goats, pigs, mules, donkeys, horses and camels, and about 24 million tame birds, making a total wealth of 88 milliard rials. Parallel with animal husbandry and hygienic measures for feeding and living conditions and the campaign against animal and bird diseases, similar steps have been taken with regard to the improvement of wool, skin and other animal products. The Veterinary College of Tehran University has been expanded and equipped with the latest laboratories and diagnostic facilities and prevention or treatment means. The Scientific serum-producing Institute of Razi in Hessarak has become one of the best-equipped of its kind in the world. It was able to produce about 11 million capsules and ampoules in 1962 for animal diseases, and about 6.5 million anti-diphtheria and tetanus and whooping-cough serums to prevent the spread of such illnesses among the people, particularly children.

### 3 — Industrial Growth

#### **Legal Resolutions concerning Oil Industry**

The exploration, extraction and production of oil derivatives form one of the greatest Iranian industries, and in many respects, particularly government revenue, is one of the important factors of economic progress and develop-

for submission to Parliament.

The Oil Law which consists of 16 Articles and 9 Notes was ratified by the lower House on 11 July 1957, and by the Senate on 29 July. The National Oil Company was authorised to divide the country into oil Zones, and declare whatever zone it considered advisable as a free zone, and to accept the most favourable proposals of oil exploration and exploitation firms, and conclude agreements with them to be ratified by Parliament.

This law may be considered a revolutionary one in the oil industry, for it put an end to the unjust system which had been in use between oil-producing countries and the companies which had secured concessions, and established the system of 75-25, that is to say, 75 percent of the revenue belonging to the oil-producing country and 25 percent to the company. Moreover, according to this law at least thirty percent of any legal entity which draws up agreements for exploitation belongs to the National Oil Company.

### **Two New Agreements**

In view of the comprehensive information which the National Oil Company had obtained concerning the oil resources, it divided the country into 27 zones, and declared several zones free for a certain period. Numerous proposals were received for these zones, and since those of two Italian and American companies were most favourable to the interests of Iran, agreements were drawn up with those companies.

The first agreement was concluded with the Italian company "Ajyp Mineraria" consisting of 47 Articles and 9 Appendices and the constitution of the Irano-Italian company, called Sirip for short, and an account of the continental plateau of the Persian Gulf, and the zone on the eastern slopes of the central Zagross, and the coastal zone of Oman (Iranian waters in Mokran). This agreement was submitted

as a single-Article Bill to the Parliament, and it was ratified by the lower House on 15 August 1957, and by the Senate on 24 August, and thus Sirip, or Iran-Italian Oil Compay, was established in accordance with Iranian laws. The main centre of this company is Tehran, and its capital is equally provided by the National Oil Company group and Italian Ajip Mineraria group.

The Second agreement was drawn up between the National Oil Company and Pan-American Petroleum Corporation, consisting of 45 Articles and one appendix. This was ratified by the House of Representatives on 8 May 1957 and by the Senate on May 28. It includes two agreements, in one of which Safayer Petroleums Limited, and in the other Pan-American Petroleum Corporation are the second parties working with the National Oil Company of Iran. The total area of operations in the free zone of the Persian Gulf is 16,000 square kilometres.

According to the agreement, the National Oil Company and Pan-American formed a new company called Iran-Pan-American Oil Company, but this company does not take direct steps for the export and sale of oil; the oil produced is shared equally between them.

The new agreements which are based on the Oil Law of 1957 have certain advantages in comparison with that of the Consortium, the most important of which are as follows:—

- 1 — The new agreements are based on a joint partnership of the National Oil Company and a second party, which has enabled the National Oil Company to invest its capital directly, and augment its scientific, technical and commercial activities.
- 2 — According to the these agreements, the profits accruing from the production and sale of oil, after deducting income tax paid to the Iranian government, is shared between the two parties on the basis of 75-25.

3 — There are no vague points which might be open to interpretation in these agreements, unlike the agreement with the Consortium in which circumstances had a deep effect. In the new agreements the powers and boundaries of operation and terms of obligations of both sides are clear-cut. Thus the sovereignty of Iran has been perfectly considered, and with the exception of a few cases where the matter is to be referred to arbitration in accordance with international laws and regulations if any differences arise, in all other cases the internal laws of Iran govern the agreement.

To make the point clear, an excerpt of the King's statements on 26 July 1964 will be quoted below:—

“ ..... It took some time before the damages were repaired. At that time owing to the economic confusion of the country there was no alternative but the conclusion of the oil agreement with the Consortium in 1954, and perhaps at that time it was not possible to conclude a better agreement. As the conditions improved, we found more self-confidence, and saw ourselves definitely freer in making decisions and in accomplishing what was to our interests. Then the time came for signing the first oil agreement on the 75-27 basis with an Italian company. We were told then that we were going too fast, and taking steps perhaps 15 years in advance of the time. Others told us not to grapple with oil kings. But we could not keep away from our destiny, and we had to show how an independent country can work.”

### **The O.P.E.C. Organisation**

The conclusion of the new oil agreements was considered a great political and economic achievement all over

the world, particularly in the Middle East and Latin America. It encouraged oil-producing countries to follow the example of Iran to safeguard their interests and rights against concessioner companies. The oil cartel was frightened and gave the alarm, and its propaganda machine and press and agents began to be active. For example the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, America, which holds extensive oil resources in the Middle East, suddenly decided to reduce the price of crude oil in the Middle East. As this reduction caused a reduction in the royalties and revenue of the oil-producing Middle East countries, it led to a deep dissatisfaction among them, and they began to think of ways and means of resisting against the oil cartel and great companies, thus paving the way for the establishment of the OPEC Organisation.

OPEC which stands for the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries was created in September 1960 in Bagdad with the membership of Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Venezuela, in order to safeguard their interests against the cupidity of oil companies, and to check their irregular wilful measures. Several weeks after the creation of OPEC, an oil expert of Sa'oudi Arabia claimed that the decision of the oil companies for the reduction in the price of crude oil had meant a loss of 1000 million pounds for the oil-producing countries of the Middle East.

This organisation began its activities against the investigations of the carted and other oil companies, and in the first place it charged American commercial companies to investigate the profits of international oil companies. Then in July 1962, in its manifesto, it asked the said companies to raise its price of crude oil in the Middle East in order to increase the share of the oil-producing countries from the revenues of production and sale. Only Japanese companies agreed to give Sa'oudi Arabia a bigger share of the revenues, and the Shell company, too, agreed to similar terms with Ku-

wait. But the efforts of the OPEC to raise the price of crude oil bore no fruit.

Late on other oil-producing countries of Qat, Indonesia and Lybia joined the OPEC Organisation. its secretariat is at present in Geneva, and it is divided into five sections: administrative, economic, legal, technical, and general relations sections. It has continued to safeguard the interests of the member countries, and has gained several successes so far, the most important of which has been the utilisation of the possessory share by the oil companies in the interest of the producing countries. This success was gained as a result of discussions in the OPEC conference at Jakarta, Indonesia. The resolutions of this conference were such that they could not all be accepted by Iran with regard to the political interests and acquired rights. The government, therefore, guided by the King, accepted only those articles which were in the interests of Iran.

### **The Oil Agreements of 1965**

The Iranian government informed the Consortium authorities of its dissatisfaction with the provisions of the 1954 agreement concerning the calculation of the possessory share, and pointed out the need of revising the said agreement. The fact that Iran had succeeded in concluding new agreements with American and Italian companies, coupled with the actions of the Iranian government in the OPEC Organisation at last compelled the authorities to accept the proposals of Iran in this matter.

The Supplementary agreement to the main agreement with the Consortium was approved by both Houses in January 1965. According to it, the possessory share of Iran will be expanded at the rate of three cents and a half in the first year, and will increase every year until the whole of the possessory share will be included in the expenditure of the Consortium. Consequently the revenue of Iran from the south-

ern oil fields will increase every year.

Another success in the expansion of the oil industry and improvement of oil agreements was the conclusion of five new agreements with American, French and Dutch companies, the preliminary steps of which were taken by the late Mansour under the King's guidance. When the announcement was made by the National Oil Company concerning the remaining free zones of section one of the Continental Plateau in the Persian Gulf, more than thirty companies belonging to various groups in different companies expressed their willingness to undertake operations in these zones. This offer was in fact the natural and logical reaction of great capitalists in the world to the political stability of Iran, and its legal security, both of which had been established in the last ten years by the unceasing efforts of the King, thus providing the basis for every kind of progress in economic, social and political fields.

Here is an excerpt from the statements made by the King on 26th January 1965:—

“ ..... But a greater success is the one obtained by Iran in Section One of the Continental Plateau in the Persian Gulf. As the subject is technical, and in any case the texts of the agreements will be published to give everyone the chance of studying them, I summarise it here and declare that the new agreements are not comparable with the 75-25 agreements which had been signed before. Of course this comparison is in our favour. We have made such progress in this matter that I can proudly inform you, the Iranian nation, that this success is due to the unity in your ranks, and to the direct relationship between me and you, that is, between the executive and you, the nation. In no other part of the world has such an advance been made in the conclusion of an oil agreement, between a producing country and various companies in

accordance with the terms, of which you are either aware, or will become so. Be assured that this procedure has been in harmony with our greatest wishes, and in the interests and with the knowledge of Iran."

## Petrochemical Industry

One of the newest and most important industrial developments in the world of to-day is the use made of oil and natural gas and the gas extracted from crude oil as the raw materials of the petrochemical industry. Iran, too, has great possibilities for the creation and expansion of such industries owing to the availability of abundant oil resources. This is particularly so, as on the one hand Iran has made great advances in the development of the oil industry and increase of production in the last ten years, and on the other hand the expansion of small industries of rubber, artificial fibres and plastics etc. has resulted in an annual increase of the imports of petrochemical products, which fact has proved the necessity of the creation of petrochemical industries.

The adoption of scientific and technical methods in agriculture throughout the country needs not only agricultural machinery but also chemical fertilizers, a sufficient quantity of which could be obtained through petrochemical industries. The first petrochemical unit in Iran was established in Shiraz in the form of a chemical fertilizer factory, which uses a daily quantity of 10 million square feet out of the 600 million square feet of oil gas from the southern oil fields.

The results of the studies made by the government and the National Oil Company concerning petrochemical industry is that with the abundant supply of gas in the south, in Sarajeh and Ghom, Iran can become a great exporting country of petrochemical products, and considering the fact that more than two thousand products are made in this industry, its expansion will form a considerable source of revenue for the country. In consequence of these studies, certain

discussions have taken place with France, Norway and other countries which have made progress in this field, so that by the time this book is published, several big units of petrochemical industry may have been established in Iran.

### **The Programme of Reconstruction and Production**

After the rising of 19th August 1953, and the re-establishment of political security in the country, most of the valuable time of the realistic and far-sighted King and the governments was taken with the stabilisation of political conditions and the creation of a quiet and favourable atmosphere for economic activities. Since the year 1955 in addition to big and small projects for the expansion of industry and exploitation of mines, other basic steps have been taken for the creation of vocational schools, expansion of technical colleges etc. These operations were included in the Second Seven-Year Plan which was mentioned before.

The basic policy of the executive in the country was to encourage the people to create and develop various industries, and except in exceptional cases, to abstain from investing government capital for the establishment of factories and productive units, but to endeavour to give proper guidance to industrialists and proprietors of mines, and enforce the principle of protection of home industries. To attain this goal, a number of Bills were drawn up and submitted to the Parliament, the most important of which are the "Law for Attracting Foreign Capital" and the "Law for the Amendment of the Law for the stabilisation of Bank Covering."

The former law, comprising 7 Articles and Two Notes, was approved by the Parliament on 28th November 1955. Here are articles 1,3 and 6:—

" Article One — Individuals, companies, and foreign private firms, authorised in accordance with Article 2 of this Law to invest their capital in Iran in cash, or in the form of factories, machinery, implements, inven-

tion royalties, specialized service and such like for the purpose of reconstruction and productive activities, whether industrial, mineral, agricultural or related to transportation, shall benefit from the facilities stated in this law."

Article Three — The capital invested in Iran according to Article One of this Law, and the profits obtained from the use of such capital, shall enjoy the legal protection of the government, as well as the privileges, rights, exemptions and facilities given to the capitals and to internal and private productive firms.

Article 6 — This law shall apply to the firms and nationals of those governments in whose countries mutual facilities are provided for economic activities by Iranian nationals and firms."

The regulations for the enforcement of this law were drawn up by the Ministry of National Economy, comprising 18 Articles and 4 Notes, and ratified by Parliament on 9th October 1956.

After its ratification, many American, German and Japanese capitalists as well as those of other countries, relying on Article 6 of the said law, invested their capital in Iran, and since the American nationals and legal entities showed a greater zeal in this matter, agreements were reached between the two governments guaranteeing the capitals of American nationals in Iran. This agreement was approved by Parliament on 11th July 1957, and a number of American capitalists invested their capital in reconstruction and productive activities in Iran.

In view of the political stability and legal security existing in the country and the readiness of the nation for reconstruction and production, the view of the executive concerning the protection given to home investment is that such a protection will have the following advantages:—

1 — As soon as home capital is invested in productive

work, the purchase and sale of land, speculation and other harmful activities will automatically come to an end.

- 2 — The Iranian capital deposited in foreign banks and remaining idle will be used at home for the establishment of big and small factories, and will naturally stop the outflow of new capital.
- 3 — There will be an increase in the production of home goods as a result of the supervision and guidance of the Ministry of Economy experts, both in quality and quantity, which will involve a proportionate reduction of imports, and an increase in the national wealth and per-head revenue, and exportation of the excess of goods.

As the government of Dr. Eghbal considered the granting of industrial loans as the best means of protecting home investment, it drew up the project of the Law for the Amendment of the Law of stabilising bank-note covering by the King's guidance, and had it ratified by Parliament on 18th May 1957.

According to this law, which comprises 4 Articles, the price of the unit of gold covering was revised, and out of the differences in the value caused by this revision, the sum of 7100 million rials was placed at the government's disposal for granting productive loans, both agricultural and industrial. The regulations for the enforcement of this law were approved by the government and the High Council of Economy, and half of the credit envisaged by the law, to which another 100 million rials was added later, was devoted to the promotion of industry and propagation of productive activities, the establishment and completion of factories and exploitation of mines, to be utilized by the Ministry of Industry and Mines on the approval of the High Council of Economy for long-term loans to industrialists.

The growth of industry was made possible by these

loans and by government investment in reconstruction and production companies established by legal entities, as well as by the direct action of the government in the revival and perfection of governmental industrial units, improvement of products, provision of facilities for the export of home goods and attraction of foreign capital. This programme was carried on by every successive government under the leadership of the King, and various reconstruction projects, over and above those envisaged in the Second Seven-Year Plan, were being carried out. Thus, signs of improvement were noticed in industry as in agriculture and animal husbandry, and from 1953 to 1963 considerable advances were made in various industries.

With respect to reconstruction, big and small projects were executed by the plan Organisation on the basis of the credits earmarked for the Second Seven-Year Plan. This included the establishment and expansion of a network of electric power throughout the country. In the last 10 years electricity has been provided for 144 towns, and preliminary steps have been taken for another 32 towns. In addition to the expansion of water-pipes in the capital, pipes were laid in 40 towns, and pipe-laying was begun in 132 other towns. On the whole during the seven years from 1955 to 1962, there has been a great increase in the investment by the people and the government in reconstruction and production programmes. The National revenue rose from 229 milliard rials in 1955 to 307 milliard rials in 1962. All these activities strengthened the economic and social foundation of the country and created fresh possibilities for further progress in these fields.

### **Increase in the number of Industrial Units and Production**

Official statistics show that huge capital was invested by the government and home capitalists in weaving industries, so that the number of big units in this branch rose from 14 factories in 1953 to 46 in 1962, and the annual productive

power of this industry rose from 60 million metres to 418 million metres. The cotton and woollen textiles of Iran have reached such a level that they can rival foreign textiles in texture, colour, design, durability and elegance, and people are more and more eager to use home products.

In various branches of foodstuffs such as sugar, vegetable oil, tea etc. considerable improvements have been made. The total product of various sugar factories has risen from 60,000 tons in 1953 to 217,000 tons in 1962. The transformation from hand-looms into big factories and the use of machinery for the pasteurization and homogenization of certain food products such as milk and its products, vegetable oil, non-alcoholic beverages etc. have, except for a few cases, been undertaken by private companies and with the people's own capital.

Among the young industries created in the last ten years by the people's enterprise and government protection are rubber-making, plastics, medical and chemical drugs, the refrigerator industry, gas and oil cookers, mounting buses, cars and lorries and other metal industries.

According to official statistics, the number of big and small factories has risen from 1300 in 1953 to 10,060 in 1963; and the number of workers from 7500 to 139,000. Generally speaking, the value of the total products of five home industries, including cement, sugar, cotton textiles, tobacco and matches has risen from 4.2 milliard rials in 1953 to 10.3 milliard rials in 1959, and has been increasing ever since.

#### **4 — Expansion of the Network of Communications**

##### **Railways**

From 1941 to 1953 which was the period of political and economic crises for Iran, only 136 kilometers of new railway lines were laid (124 kilometers from Ahwaz to Khorramshahr, and 12 kilometers from Sar-Bandar to Bandar Mashour). But from 1953 onward, owing to political stability and preparation of reconstruction programmes favoured by the King, and the

acquisition of necessary credits from the oil revenue and foreign sources, the network of railways was expanded from the point of view of the length of the lines, motivating power, scientific and technical installations, and within 7 years a total of 1074 kilometres was added to the existing railroads. The traction power of railways up to the year 1956 was only 252 steam locomotives, 164 of which were purchased between 1941 and 1956. From that year onward 215 Diesel locomotives began to operate on the railway lines, a change which modernized the motivating power of this important network of communications and brought it in harmony with some of the most advanced countries of the world.

Other effective steps, too, were taken with regard to the repair, perfection and replacement of the means of transportation, exploitation, communication, comfort of passengers and welfare of railway workers. For example 369 new passenger wagons and dining-cars, 3007 goods wagons, and 773 liquid tankers were bought. The trains, instead of leaving three times a week, now left daily, and fast trains with luxurious passenger cars and good ventilation began to run, and numerous refrigerators were used in the wagons for carrying perishable food. Selector telephones, career lines, teletype and wireless apparatuses safeguarded the communication between all railway units throughout the country and the capital, and permanent communication between various stations. Among other useful measures taken by the Ministry of Roads, and Railway Institution are the development of technical instruction for railway employees, sending apprentices to Europe and America, providing dwelling and sanitation for employees as well as, other security measures, and finally the utilization of the most modern equipment.

### **Road-building**

In the last 10 years a total of 5498 kilometres of asphalted roads have been built, having the best standard, a total

width of 11 metres, 7 metres of which are asphalted. Another 2025 first-class gravel roads, and 11,849 kilometers of second-class gravel roads have been built also, the most important and longest of which is the trans- Iranian road, 1281 kilometers from Bandar Pahlavi on the Caspian to Khorramshahr on the Persian Gulf passing through Rasht, Kazwin, Hamadan, Malayer, Boroujerd, Khorram-Abad, Andimeshk and Ahwaz. Another is the asphalt road between Tehran and the frontier of Iraq, passing through Kazwin, Hamadan, Kermanshahan and Ghassr-Shirin; and a third is the Tehran-Shiraz asphalt road, passing through Saveh, Isfahan and Abadeh, thus joining the capital with the centre of the fertile province of Farss.

Parallel with the construction of new roads and asphalting them, attention has been paid to the ballasting and pounding of gravel roads, which is more important than the construction of new roads. Units, well-equipped with road-building and road-repairs machinery, are constantly working on the 12,000 kilometres of the main roads in the country. New roads have helped to increase transportation in the country, and various travel agencies have been established with best passenger coaches equipped with ventilation facilities and heaters and buffets. Competition between these firms has reduced the fare and cost of carrying goods to the lowest possible rate.

## Civil Aviation

The Organisation of Civil Aviation was established in 1946, and on account of the interest the King has shown in this matter together with his wonderful skill as a pilot, this organisation has grown very rapidly.

The basic programme of the Organisation for Civil Aviation was to establish direct contact with the Civil Aviation organisations of other countries, to build well-equipped airports large enough for big planes, and safeguard the secu-

rity of flights. Concerning the first matter, the Organization gained a quick success. Then airports were built in Mehrabad (Tehran) Shiraz, Tabriz, Mashad, Isfahan, Kerman, Rasht Ramsar, Ahwaz, Bndar- Abbass, Birjand, Yazd, Zahedan and Abadan, and Mehrabad airport soon became a modern international airport. Iranian airports possess radio-beacons for signalling, halting-places, aircraft garages, repair workshops and means of communication. They are constantly in touch by teletype with Amsterdam, Paris, Bangkok, Beirut, Begdad, and Ankara.

Since 1953, seventeen centres have been created for radio-beacon wave production, and twelve aerial corridors over the Iranian territory, the number of which has risen to 16 now. Among the most important recent measures taken by the Organisation are the utilization of the most modern techniques of aviation, setting up courses of scientific and technical instruction for the technical staff, and the expansion of the radius of action by the purchase of long-distance flying jet planes.

For the ecurity of flight it is necessary to gain quick information concerning atmospheric changes in various airports. In addition to what has been done by the Organization to develop the means of communication, since 1951 independent institutions have been created by this Organization with the help of the experts of the International Aviation Organization, of which Iran is a member, opening classes for flight supervision, communication, electronics, meteorology and such like. About 500 engineers who have specialized in various branches of communication, such as wireless, radio-telephone and teletype, are working in these institutions. Mehrabad is in constant touch with internal airports by means of three Morse sets and one teletype, and with neighbouring countries by two Morse sets.

Teletype came into general use for the first time in August 1953 in Tehran, thus establishing a modern system of communication between the capital and first and second-class towns. Since then much effort has been made to develop communication in the country, as well as between Tehran and other important capitals and cities of the world. The result is as follows:—

1 — The Communication Building was set up in Tehran and it began to function in 1960. The most modern communication means have been installed and concentrated, in this building such as the international and internal Telex, telegraphic canals, multi-telex, telephonic and telegraphic terminals, career telephones, and a centre of telephonic information. Since 1960, the telex communication began to function, first in Tehran, and then in Khorramshahr, and later on communication was established with four important centres, namely London, Paris, New York and Frankfort by the telex transmitter and receiver and by the creation of 16 canals. About 106 commercial and banking institutions and foreign news agencies subscribe to the telex. The total number of antennae for communication with other countries rose to 30 by 1964.

2 — For the first time telephoto communication was established in Iran in 1954 connecting Tehran with London, Paris, Rome, Japan and India.

3 — The expansion of the wireless and the use of the most modern automatic teleprint established the communication with Karachi, Bombay, Bagdad, Kuwait, Beirut, Istanbul, Kabul, Osaka, Geneva, Rome, Paris, Moscow, Frankfort, London and New York, and many other centres in the world. In addition to direct telegraphic wireless communication between Iran and most of the capitals and cities of the world, the wireless telephone, too, has been established.

4 — The system of magnetic telephone has been gradually changed into automatic telephone, and more than

125,000 telephone numbers operate in the Capital, Isfahan, Ahwaz, Tabriz, Khorramshahr, Rasht, Mashed, Rezaieh Shiraz, Kerman, Kazwin, Ghom and Kermanshahan.

5 — The Iranian government signed the international communication agreement of Buenos-Aires in 1952; and this agreement which comprises 50 Articles, 6 Appendices, 36 main Protocols, 4 supplementary Protocols, 34 Resolutions and four Recommendations, was approved by the House of Representatives on 21st December 1955, and by the Senate on 14th April 1957. Thus the government was authorised to carry out the international regulations of wire and wireless telephone and telegraph attached to the agreement. In this way Iran joined the international union of communications whose permanent centre is Geneva, and was able to profit from the facilities provided by the members for the communication and transmission of waves etc.

### **Radio Transmission**

Among the advances made in the last ten years of the Radio-Iran may be mentioned the amplification of broadcasting apparatuses, variety in the radio programme, the length of time devoted to it, establishment of well-equipped studios, the setting up of radio transmitting centres in other towns, the improvement of radio waves and harmonizing them with provincial atmospheric conditions in distant parts, carrying out co-operative programmes on the radio and the creation of a special service of international exchange.

The capacity of the transmitters in Tehran and other towns rose from 37 kilowatts in 1953 to 897 kilowatts by the beginning of 1964, some of which belong to Tehran and the rest to Tabriz, Rezaieh, Rasht, Kermanshahan, Ahwaz, Shiraz, Kerman, Mashad, Isfahan, Sanandaj and Zahedan.

The radio programmes broadcast from Tehran became continual from July 1953, and in addition to various educational, hygienic, musical, social and cooperative programmes

transmitted from midnight until 5 a.m., news and talks are broadcast in Arabic, Turkish, Russian, French and English from Radio-Iran. This institution also makes use of its international exchange section for the music and radio news of other countries, so that the best Iranian songs and music which have been recorded are broadcast at special times on foreign radios, while various foreign scientific topics are transmitted from Radio Iran.

As regards the provincial transmitters, the capacity of those of Ahwaz, Kermanshahan and Zahedan has been augmented up to 100 kilowatts each. The Ahwaz wave could easily be heard in the whole of the Middle East and the Arab countries, that of Zahedan Radio in India, Pakistan and Afghanistan, and the Kermanshahan Rdio in the western Asiatic countries. In fact Radio-Iran is playing an important part in paying attention to local songs and encouraging musicians specializing in folklore and genuine Iranian music, as well as broadcasting patriotic plays.

### **The Expansion of Education and Universities**

Official statistics show that the expansion of education which has taken place in Iran in the last 10 years, has in most cases risen by 300 percent, and in the case of vocational, technical and agricultural schools by 130 percent. This increase is unprecedented in most countries, and in Iran has been due to the King's love of learning and his special interest in the educational system of the country.

The number of kindergartens rose from 34 in 1941 to 74 in 1953 and 245 in 1963; the number of elementary schools rose from 2331 in 1941 to 5675 in 1953 and 12,451 in 1963. The number of elementary school pupils rose from 288,462 in 1941 to 1,496,302 in 1963.

Secondary education, too, has undergone a great change in quality and quantity. To the 321 secondary schools

existing in 1941, about 44 new schools were added by 1953, and another 742 by 1963. The number of secondary school pupils has increased from 101, 140 in 1953 to 326, 856 in 1963. In addition to cities and second and third class towns, secondary education had penetrated most of the villages. In most secondary schools, in addition to literature and science and foreign languages, such subjects as secretarial and infirmary training are given and in girls' schools domestic science has become prevalent.

Among the useful measures taken by the educational institutions, has been the training of youth for free jobs adapted to the ability of the pupils, given by vocational, technical and commercial schools with the aid of the Plan Organisation. The number of such schools has risen from 3 in 1941 to 87 in 1963; and the number of students from 615 to 9,198. In the technical and vocational schools of Tehran, Ahwaz, Kazwin, Rasht, Sari, Zahedan, Yazd, Kerman, Kermanshahan, Rezaieh, Arak and Kashan gifted students are engaged in the study of carpentry, metal work, masonry, electricity, automechanics, plumbing, weaving and dyeing; while in girls' schools training is given in domestic science, cooking, sewing, embroidery and artistic work..

Agricultural schools and Agricultural Teachers' Colleges were opened in the central city of the provinces, and short-term courses were arranged for training farming teachers. The number of such schools rose to 14 in 1963. In the commercial schools of Tehran, Tabriz, Ahwaz, Rezaieh, Kerman, Rash and Mashad, the theoretical and practical knowledge of commerce, accounting and economics is provided.

The question of teacher training has also been attended to by the educational institutions, and the number of such institutions has risen from 29 in 1941 to 87 in 1963, and the number of annual graduates has risen from 1269 to 5779.

Parallel with the rapid growth of secondary and vocational schools, a growing interest is shown in higher studies. The University of Tehran has been expanded and other

colleges have been opened in the provinces, so that the number of universities in the country rose to seven by 1963. In the Tehran University, National University of Iran, Pahlavi University of Shiraz, Gondishapur University of Ahwaz, and Universities of Tabriz, Isfahan and Mashad and other high institutions a total of 24,456 students were engaged in higher studies. At the same time other specialised universities were expanded including a Military College, a Technical College of Oil, a Police College, College of War and College of Post & Telegraph.

The way of higher learning was paved by the creation of doctorate courses at Tehran University, by scientific research and the establishment of modern, well-equipped laboratories and libraries. One important example is the creation of the Atomic Centre and Geophysics Institute by the University of Tehran. The atomic chair was founded first in the College of Science in 1958, and an atomic reactor was installed there. The Geophysics Institute began to function in May 1960. This is one of the great centres of scientific research ranking with other geophysics centres in the world. In this respect it is the only scientific one in the Middle East which plays a significant part in its scientific contribution to the world concerning the study of the Earth's atmosphere and interior, its relation to other planets, and the physical factors which directly affect the lives of the inhabitants of the Earth. These results are placed at the disposal of similar centres of research in Paris, Tokyo and Washington.

### **Physical Education and Scouting**

Owing to the keenness which the King has shown for sports, the question of physical education has been attended to by educational institutions in two ways: first, to propagate sports and physical education in schools, workers' centres, army units and among the youth of the country generally by means of the encouragement and provision of facilities, fields and stadiums; secondly, to train champions in various

fields for participation in Olympic games, and to set up the Olympic Committee of Iran under the auspices of His Highness Gholamreza Pahlavi.

With respect to the propagation of physical education, the Organization for Physical Education in Iran, attached to the Ministry of Education, has taken long strides in the last 10 years, and has succeeded in building stadiums and providing other facilities in Tehran and provinces, and first class cities. It has at the same time done much for the expansion of scouting through various institutions and schools.

Although Iran has a long record in sports, until 1948 Iranian sportsmen were able to participate only once in the world weight-lifting championship held in Helsinki in 1947. Their talent attracted much attention and thenceforth various sportive federations as well as the Olympic Committee were created under the special care of His Majesty, and Iranian sportsmen took part for the first time in the Olympic games in London in 1948. In these games 52 Iranian champions participated in gymnastics, boxing, wrestling, weight-lifting, basketball and shooting, and Jafar Salmassi, the weightlifter, succeeded in winning the first Olympic medal for Iran. He came third in the feather-weight group.

In consequence of the constant endeavour of coaches and the zeal shown by our sport-loving youth, in a short time Iranian champions were able to win honours in the Olympic games. In 1956 at Melbourne, two gold medals and a silver medal were won by Iranians; Gholamreza Takhti in the seventh weight of free wrestling, and Emamali Habibi in the fourth weight obtained gold medals and became world champions; Mohammad Ali Khojasteh-Pour won the second place in the first weight and obtained a silver medal.

Here is a part of the King's message on 13th May 1956 on the occasion of the Olympic Week in Iran:—

“..... The participation in the Olympic Week ceremonies by young men who are the true and deserving

representatives of the Iranian nation from the point of view of moral qualities and the spirit of chivalry, is a necessary national matter. The revival of our ancient greatness, and heroic traditions of gallant and fearless Iranians make it essential that each individual in our nation should show utmost endeavour and devotion in this matter.

In recent years we have as usual shown our interest in and given our support to the sport institutions of the country, particularly to the National Olympic Committee of Iran, and we are very pleased concerning the collaboration between this committee and the Iranian Society for Physical Education in despatching the best champions to the Olympic and international games."

And here is the wise counsel given by the King in his message to sportsmen on 26th October 1960:—

"It is our wish that all our countrymen, particularly our youth may choose the way of truth and service to this country through bodily and mental health, and attain perfection in the way of the preservation of national unity, principles of chivalry, patriotism and attachment to learning and art."

In the Free Wrestling World Championship held in Manchester from May 30th to June 2nd, 1965, the Iranian wrestling team won the first place. Seif-Pour, Movahed and Mehdizadeh secured gold medals in their own weights, Farokhian and Sanatkaran got silver medals, and the Iranian team obtained a total of 30.5 points.

### **Campaign against Diseases, and Health Measures**

In the last 10 years constant efforts have been made by the health services and the Ministry of Health and other organisations for medical aid for a campaign against infectious diseases such as smallpox, malaria, trachoma, tuberculosis and scalp diseases, all of which used to have numerous

victims every year, and considerable success has been attained in this field. Some of these diseases such as malaria have been uprooted altogether. Similar campaigns have been made against venereal diseases, diphteria, tetanus and whooping-cough by means of vaccination. Among other useful measures taken are the establishment of 55 hospitals, maternity homes, tuberculous sanatoriums, and clinics in various parts of the country, as well as eight schools of infirmary service, courses for teachers of hygiene, expansion of hospitals, and renovation of such buildings. Quarantines have been established since 1962 on the south-east borders to prevent the contagion of the deadly disease of cholera within the country, and other hygienic precautions are taken with regard incoming and outgoing passengers, all of which are an evidence of the attention paid to public health.

Concerning public health, efforts have been made by the institutions attached to the Ministry of Health and municipalities, a brief account of which will be given below:—

1 — Provision of drinkable water by pipes, and its chemical and physical filtration in Tehran and provinces; digging of deep wells in small towns, and semi-deep wells in villages; dredging the sources and subterranean canals and sewers etc. Altogether 4880 projects have been carried out in recent years for making water safe.

2 — Hygiene in nutrition by means of establishing hygienic slaughter houses, the examination of animals before slaughter, provision of fast modern means of transport for carrying meat to the market, compelling butchers to install refrigerators, supervision over the preparation of food-stuffs, campaign against fraud in this matter, and safeguarding the cleanliness of stores and sellers of foodstuffs. Among the actors which have been effective in safeguarding hygienic conditions in public nutrition have been the people's co-operation with health institutions, the attention paid by customers to the cleanliness of the goods, public enlightenment, particularly the attention paid by the sellers themselves to

perishable goods, competition between producers in winning customers etc. The advance made in this country has always been a source of wonder for the experts of the World Organisation for Nutrition and Foodstuffs attached to U.N.O.

3 — The prohibition of the cultivation of the poppy, and the campaign against the use of opium was made into a Bill by the Ala Government and ratified by Parliament on 29th October 1955. It had far-reaching effects in safeguarding public health, and although it meant a loss of an export revenue of 500 million tomans for Iran, this fine step won the praise and admiration of international circles. Poppy plantations were gradually turned into cotton and beet fields, and a number of addicts, totalling about 230,000, were treated and cured. As some neighbours of Iran still continue to cultivate poppy, the logical result of the step taken by Iran was the prevalence of smuggling opium on the eastern and north-east frontiers of this country, which forced the government to start a campaign against it by means of well-equipped units and organizations. But what is certain is that the use of opium was reduced almost to nill particularly among the poorer classes as a result of the scarcity of opium and its high price. In fact these hard-working producers of wealth returned to their normal life, and left the use of the expensive and smuggled opium to those who depended on the rents of their extensive property, and considered this addiction a hobby and recreation.

### **Charity Institutions**

Benevolence and generosity have always been among the characteristics of the Iranians, evidence of which can be found in the extensive lands and estates endowed by the people for charitable purposes. The King, too, is a fine example of these qualities, whose sentiments are expressed in the following words in his message to the nation on 15th August 1942 on the occasion of the annual celebration of the Constitution:—

“..... I am one of you. In the name of Islam and humanity I make this recommendation to you, my brothers and sisters, to carry out your benevolent intentions, and show a real faith in philanthropy, assistance to the needy and the poor, and kindness and sincerity. Go and participate like brothers in the celebration for the Constitution and liberation of Iran. My heart is always with you and God is always with us.

Good knows, whenever I hear that in some part of the country the people think of each other and form charity organizations and societies, how happy I feel. I, too, wish to take part with them in such benevolent deeds, and spare no effort in this way.”

As mentioned before, the king fulfilled his benevolent wishes by issuing a decree for the apportionment of crown lands among farmers. Many years passed and none of the big landowners followed his magnificent example; yet the King succeeded with his insight and realism to carry out the land reform by the decree of January 1962.

Another step taken by the King was the establishment of the Pahlavi Foundation, and endowment of 419 villages belonging to the remainder of the crown lands for charitable purposes. The decree for this measure was issued on 5 October 1961, and the Deed of Endowment was registered in the Public Notary's Office. These immovable properties, named the Endowments of the Pahlavi Dynasty, are managed by the Pahlavi Foundation, by means of a constitution comprising six sections and 25 Articles which received the royal assent, its aim being to give hygienic, educational and social aid to the needy.

Five charity organisations, namely the Pahlavi Foundation, the Iranian Red Sun and Lion, Society the Royal Organization for Social Services, Society for Protection of Women and Children, and the Royal Council function under the auspices of Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi on behalf of His Imperial Majesty. Her Highness Ashraf Pahlavi

acts as President of the Royal Organisation for Social Services, and Her Highness Shamss Pahlavi as President of the Iranian Red Sun and Lion Society. Thus the King has put into practice what has always been in his mind with regard to philanthropy and charity.

The Iranian Red Sun and Lion Society is one of the institutions created by the late Reza Shah, and expanded by the present King. Its main functions are;—

- 1 — Giving assistance in earthly and heavenly calamities and accidents by means of rescue units and well-equipped hospitals.
- 2 — Training the youths of the Red Sun and Lion society to collaborate in charitable matters.
- 3 — Training nurses for hospitals and clinics, and securing a supply of blood to be given freely to those who are in need of it.

The institutions attached to this Society are: the Taj Institute which is a centre of research in and a campaign against cancer. It rivals similar institutions in advanced countries, and is in touch with them. There are centres of blood transfusion in Tehran and several other cities; centre for campaign against tuberculosis and lung diseases; relief hospital of Tehran for giving immediate assistance to injured persons; the Nursing School of Reza Shah the Great; the Najm Clinic; the Orphanage and Vocational School of Farah Pahlavi; the Model Home of the Child; the Independent Section for Medicine; and lastly 326 hospitals, clinics, maternity homes, orphanages and Correctional institutions in the remotest parts of the country. The Rescue Organisation of this Society came into existence in 1956, with branches in all the provinces. It is one of the most active and useful organisations attached to the Red Sun and Lion Society, with the duty of rendering immediate aid to the injured. Its duty is also to visit damaged districts and report the local needs to the central office of the society. For this purpose a network of relief wireless service has been established in 46 towns, to report to

the central board within a few minutes of any calamity. The Royal Organization for Social Services was established by a royal decree in April 1947, and this institution took effective steps in the question of health and treatment of patients and in rendering social and educational assistance to various parts of the country. During the last ten years the number of hospitals and clinics established by this organisation has increased. One important institution attached to it is the Nursing School of Ashraf Pahlavi which was opened in 1949, and during the ten years from 1952 to 1962 it has trained 430 skilled nurses for service in the hospitals attached to the Tehran University and the Organisation. Another important medical unit is the 110-bed hospital of Reza Pahlavi in Tahirish, Tehran, which was opened by Their Majesties in August 1961. It possesses sections for surgery, radiology, childbirth, women's diseases and laboratories.

The big pharmaceutical factory and drug distribution was ready to operate early in 1965. This factory which is built with the joint funds of the Royal Organization and Pahlavi Foundation has a capacity for meeting 75 percent of the medicinal needs of the country, and can manufacture about 8,000 different kinds of specialized drugs, and in this way raise the exchange savings of the country. It has cost 220 million rials, and is unrivalled in the Middle East.

The Royal Organization undertook the printing and free distribution of elementary school textbooks of the first four grades in 1957 by the King's order, thus printing several million books every year and placing them at the disposal of the Ministry of Education for distribution in the country. Since the execution of this project until 1961 about 83.8 million rials have been expended on books, and every year around 15 million rials are contributed by the Organization to charity and educational institutions and to needy students.

This account will be concluded with an excerpt of the King's message to the Iranian nation on 24th November 1951:—

“Those who enjoy the advantages of life, must, by the virtue of their religious duties and traditional Iranian characteristics, render as much aid as they can to those who are in need of it and are deprived of such benefits. They must become pioneers in this field and spare no effort as a way of thanksgiving for such a blessing. No deed is more admirable and pleasing than feeding a hungry person and clothing a naked one. It is gratifying that the Benevolent Society of Tehran has been formed with the assistance of devout and benevolent individuals for this purpose, and it has rendered valuable services in helping the needy.

“..... Governor-generals can act on our behalf at once in forming benevolent societies in the provinces, and take whatever steps are necessary to attain this end.”

## **Chapter Four**

### **The White Revolution and Social Change**

#### **I — The White Revolution**

##### **Preliminary Steps**

Since the beginning of his reign, the enlightened and just King of Iran has done everything for the welfare and well-being of his nation and country. What has always occupied his mind has been the question of "social justice" and the need of establishing it in Iranian society. The discussion of classes and their conditions in ancient Iran is beyond the scope of this book; but what is necessary to mention is that the Islamic religion is based on social justice, abolition of class privileges, necessity of adjusting wealth and ownership on the basis of the equality of natural rights, as well as an equality of civic, political and social rights. The King of Iran, with his deep faith in the true principles of Islam, and observing injustices and wide class differences, and an inequality in the standard of living of a wealthy minority and a deprived hard-working majority, constantly thought of an opportunity to put an end to all these tyrannical social traditions. His apportionment of crown lands, his endowment of the rest of his possessions to charitable purposes, his effective addresses, his wise counsels, his recommendation and emphasis on the enforcement of social justice and his constant effort in a campaign against the designs and inclinations of a selfish

and rich minority, made a devoted and self-sacrificing soldier of the King who always relies on God, on his inherent courage and true faith in the victory, against enemies and makes a firm stand against them. The King was not alone in his campaign against injustice; a great majority of wealth-producing and enlightened classes always followed and obeyed him. But undesirable political events, such as those mentioned in the previous chapters, for a long time separated him from his nation. Those selfish and conceited individuals belonging to the minority made use of the numerous possibilities they had, such as parliamentary privileges, membership of parliament and even tolerating the disgrace of resorting to foreigners, stood up against the King, created scenes of terror and assassination, made use of the religion, contrary to its principles, as a pretext to oppose his social and economic reforms. Their aim was nothing but to preserve existing conditions by every possible means. But it was no longer possible for the nation to bear and for the King to observe the poverty and privations of the majority, particularly as geographical circumstances of Iran and social changes of the world of to-day necessitated a thorough social transformation in this country.

This campaign began with the royal decree for land reform; but as mentioned before, this Bill was wholly changed by the feudal lords, landlords and other wealthy members of the 20th Legislature and Third Senate in such a way as to be quite contrary to the reformatory intentions of the King. The Parliament was dissolved by the government's proposal and royal assent, and our realistic King prepared the way for the white revolution and social change by his decree of land reform. With the enforcement of this decree at the beginning of 1962, one of the wishes of the King to safeguard the welfare of the farming classes was realised.

### **The First Congress of Rural co-operatives**

The first stage of land reform was rapidly advancing

under the King's supervision, its goal being the purchase of extensive lands from big landowners by the government, their apportionment and sale to farmers at long-term instalments. About one year after the enforcement of this law, hundreds of rural co-operatives sprang up with the capital of the farmers who now owned land and were liberated from serfdom. They were supported by the Agricultural Credit Bank.

By royal order, preparations were made for the meeting of a congress of the board of directors of rural co-operatives and agricultural representatives, which was opened by His Majesty in Tehran on 9th January 1963 with the participation of over four thousand farmers representing 75 percent of the population of this country. In the first session of the congress the King himself acted as chairman. It was a magnificent spectacle; for the first time the King, without guard and attendants, was sitting under the same roof with the true representatives of the nation, and far from the selfish and conservative minority. The long-suffering peasants who had come from the remotest parts of the country in their local dress, found their king among them, and watched his manly face at close quarters with wonder and admiration. Then the King rose and in a warm tone and with a sincerity which moved all hearts, began to speak. Here is an excerpt of the King's address which is the foundation of the White Revolution and the beginning of a great social and political change in Iran:—

“..... Here, by virtue of my responsibility as king, and my loyalty to the oath I have taken for the preservation of the rights and exaltation of the Iranian nation, I cannot be an indifferent observer in the campaign of divine powers against evil forces, for I am carrying the banner of this battle.

To prevent every power from re-establishing the system of the serfdom of the peasant in this country, and letting a small group plunder the national wealth, I consider it my duty as the head of the Triple Powers, to refer directly to the people on the basis of Article 27

(1) and Article 26 of the Supplementary Law to the Constitution which declares "the powers in the country are derived from the people", and to ask before the election of the two Houses of the nation, which overrules the Parliament and is the source of all national power, to affirm and establish these reforms by means of a referendum before the election of the two Houses of Parliament, so that in future no private interest, no one and no group can efface the traces of these reforms which have liberated the peasant from the slavery of landlords and masters, and are the safeguards of a better, fairer and more progressive future for the working classes, for the welfare of honest civil servants, and for the prosperity of tradesmen, and the preservation of national wealth.

I desire that these laws which have been enforced for the realization of a great historical transformation in Iran, should receive the direct approval of the nation."

Then amidst the admiration and wonder of those present, he presented the congress with the six principles of social revolution, of which no one, not even his nearest companions or members of the cabinet, knew anything, and it was a brilliant manifestation of the King's own originality and good intentions.

"The principles which I, as king and head of the triple Powers, submit to the referendum, and ask for the positive vote of the nation in their establishment are as follows:—

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(1) Section I of Article 27 of the Supplementary Law to the Constitution: The powers in the country are divided into three: First, the legislative which makes and amends laws, and this power is derived from the King, the House of Representatives and the Senate; and each of these three powers has the right of drawing up laws.

- 1 — The abolition of the system of master and serf by the ratification of the land reform based on the amended law of land reform, approved on 9th January 1962, together with its appendages.
- 2 — The ratification of the Law of Nationalization of Forests in the whole country.
- 3 — The ratification of the Law for the sale of governmental factory' shares as a covering for the land reform.
- 4 — The ratification of the Law making workers share in the profits of productive and industrial organizations.
- 5 — The Amended Law of Elections.
- 6 — The Bill for the creation of the Literacy Corps in order to facilitate the enforcement of the Law of Compulsory General Instruction.

It was the first time that the Iranian nation, which loves freedom and democracy, was being invited by the ruler of the country to determine its own destiny. Therefore it showed great enthusiasm in voting for the 6 principles of the White Revolution. On 26th January 1963 about 5.5 million men and women voted for them, and for the first time Iranian women went to the ballot boxes side by side with the men.

In a message sent by the King to the nation on 28th January 1963 on the occasion of the ratification of these principles, he said:—

“..... My heart is full of joy at the positive answer which you have given to my call. I had asked you to give your explicit and decisive answer to definite questions which have a vital and direct connection with the destiny of this country; and you have shown by your vote that you have fully understood the significance of this national approval. It is your sense of discernment that makes my faith in the future of this country firmer and more unshakable.

My dear people, to-day we have turned a new

leaf of our history together. This history has already been full of brilliant and proud pages written during many centuries by the hands of the self-sacrificing, patriotic and noble men of this country. But perhaps it has never happened during these long periods that the foundations of Iranian society should be so fundamentally transformed, to assume a new form based on social justice and to follow the road progress and honour.

With God's will and your enterprise we will make such a country in this part of the world that it shall rival the most advanced countries in every respect. We will make a country that shall be the land of free man and women, where the genius of the Iranian can manifest itself and its eternal originality which is the secret of the survival of this country and nation, more fully than ever before, and in a rich environment free from corruption. For the chains of slavery have now been broken, and 75 percent of the population of this country who were enslaved before, are now enjoying the blessing of freedom. This group and other members of this nation will be able to vote freely for the first time in the future elections, and take part with authority in determining their own destiny. There is no doubt that in future all Iranian men and women will make use of the new social conditions and endeavour side by side to create a flourishing and prosperous Iran.

This social and national change which has taken place in Iran to-day is indeed a great revolution which is at the same time legal and sacred. It is legal because the King who is empowered to make laws, asked for your approval, and you, the Iranian nation from whom all powers are derived according to the Constitution, approved this legal and national revolution, and put your signature to it by your decisive and crushing vote. Thus a great change took place without a drop of blood, and without shaking in the slightest degree

our ancient national foundations which, on the contrary, became firmer and more secure because of this change.

On the other hand this revolution is a sacred one because all its principles are based on both the lofty teachings of Islam, namely justice and equity, and the most progressive principles and ideals of modern civilisation. Nevertheless, I, as your king and the person responsible for the destiny of this nation, consider it necessary to point out that while we have attained the greatest individual and national glory, we should never be proud or suppose that our work is at an end. On the contrary it is more than ever necessary that we should engage in creative activities with a high morale and a firm resolution, so that every individual from whatever class may serve the future Iran in accordance with the approved laws and within the limits of his effort and capital, and reap a proportionate benefit from the blessings and potentialities offered by this country.

The way I have shown you is the only proper, logical and honourable one before us to safeguard the progress of this ancient and proud country. I am sure future of yourselves and your children and the true that with the social maturity that you have shown, and with the deep and firm spirit of nationalism which is inherent in every one of you people of this country, you will give a positive answer to any call for your own welfare and that of future generations.

March on towards the future which will lead Iran and Iranians to the height of greatness and happiness.

May the God of Iran always support and defend you.'

On 29th January 1963, the royal decree concerning the six principles of the White Revolution which had been appro-

ved by the nation, was communicated in the following terms to the government for execution:—

With the support God the Exalted

We

Pahlavi, the Shahinshah of Iran

“Whereas our greatest aim in the recent changes has been to exalt the country and bring about the social and economic advancement of the Iranian nation; and since we consider the participation of the Iranian nation in determining its destiny as the most desirable way of attaining this goal; and as to this end we have composed certain laws in accordance with Article 27 of the Supplementary Law of the Constitution in order to lay the foundation of the progress of the nation; and have submitted them to the vote of the Iranian nation according to Article 26 of that Law which declares that the Powers of the country are derived from the nation, since these decrees have received the approval of the majority of voters of this nation to the extent of being almost unanimously ratified, therefore we ordain that the following

- 1 — The Amended Law of the Law of Land reform together with its appendages, ratified on the 9th of January 1963.
- 2 — The legal decree for the nationalisation of forests.
- 3 — The Legal decree for the sale of the shares of government factories as covering for land reform.
- 4 — The legal decree for enabling workers to share in the profits of productive and industrial units.
- 5 — The decree for the creation of a Literacy Corps.
- 6 — The decree amending the Law of Elections.

These laws have been firmly and decisively established by national ratification and have received our assent, Dated 29th January, 1963.”

## Interpretation of the Six Principles

Each of the six principles is of great significance in some social or economic aspect of the country, and the six of them together supplement the Constitutional Revolution of Iran; and by virtue of their finality, universal acceptance, and their rapid penetration and establishment in Iranian society, they may be considered the origin of a wide and great change, the parallel of which can rarely be found in the history of many other nations.

The Constitutional Revolution of Iran was at the beginning a political movement against the regime of tyranny and despotism; and with its triumph, changes occurred in the political framework of the ruling body, and despotic monarchy took the form of constitutional monarchy. But as time went on, the revolutionary ruling body was replaced by the same ruling body of the despotic era which had joined the ranks of progressive liberals in order to protect its own interests. The feudal landlords, and the owners of wealth of the times of despotism entered the arena of politics dressed as constitutionalists, took their seats in the Parliament, and checked the evolutionary progress of the revolution with all their might, with the support of reactionaries and fanatics, and prevented the revolution from attaining its social and economic objectives.

On the evidence of the policy programmes published by the political parties of the time of the Constitutional revolution, the liberal leaders who gave their lives for this goal, never forgot the questions of limitation of ownership, the equality of social and civic rights for men and women, the expansion of education and hygiene and other reforms. But the circumstances of the time, public opinion and religious beliefs were not such as to allow the free expression of such aims by the reformers, or to make their insistence on the fulfilment of these objectives possible. Therefore, these liberally-minded men seemed to be satisfied with a change of the political regime. For this reason, the consequence of the constitutional re-

wer. The left wing only wanted power to rule the country and surrender the country to international communism, in order to cause unlimited bloodshed of the feudal lords and of the fortunate minority, to involve the whole country in bloodshed and fire, and put the whole nation, both minority and majority, in the chains of exploitation.

The vigilant King of Iran from the very beginning of his reign was a witness to undesirable and dangerous processes which threatened the independence and territorial integrity of Iran. He manfully resisted political difficulties and crises and hundreds of plots and conspiracies of destructive elements with one another and with foreign agencies. Then, when the proper moment came, he presented his nation with his programmes of reform in political, social and economic fields, and courageously carried out what might have been done one day by bloodshed, leading to the the destruction of the independence of Iran and the enslavement of its people.

Some fedual elements and the wealthy class which had one day collaborated with the Tudeh party in order to pre-sserve their own interests, now showed such shamelessness and impudence that they called the King of Iran an extravagant extremist who was filled with communistic ideas. What is certain, however, is that the King with his January revolution which came to be called the White Revolution of the King and People, laid the foundation of true democracy, namely the frreedom and independence of the individual in the framework of social freedom and independence, and paved the way for progress in every aspect of life for his nation. In his message to the nation on 26th Januairy 1965 on the anniversary of the White Revolution he said:—

“To-day two years have passed since the 26th January 1963, the day when, with your approval, we turned the leaf of the 2500-year-old social history of Iran, and at once and from every point of view we joined the first rank of the progressive nations of the world. The greatness and finality of our revolution, and your

crushingly positive answer was such that it made the enemies of Iran giddy and amazed. With your approval, and without even a drop of blood being shed, this day of the 26th January entered the pages of history as the day of the White Revolution of the King and People. With this extraordinary achievement we can predict the future in store for us. The foundations of a new society have been laid, social injustices have disappeared, the interest of the majority of the nation has been safeguarded by the law, but all these preliminaries must lead to a greater welfare, comfort and happiness of you, the Iranian nation.”

### **The Abolition of the System of Master and Serf**

The first principle of the White Revolution is the abolition of the system of master and serf, which laid the foundation of a great change in the life of 75 percent of the population of Iran, namely the peasant. The ignorant peasant had neither political nor economic independence. He could neither determine his own fate nor that of his country. He had never understood the real meaning of country and patriotism, for in the whole wide land of Iran there was not even a span of land that he could call his own, to which he could show attachment. In appearance he was not a slave, but he lived under conditions which were harder and more intolerable than those of the serfs in the Middle Ages. Their master owned both the land and water and had control over the opinion, home and life of the peasant. In fact the peasant's very existence and belongings and family were in the clutches of the master. Marshal Riahi, Minister of Agriculture, wrote in the first number of the journal “Free Peasant”, issued by the “Modern Iran party” in October 1964:—

“..... I, who have been born in a village of Chahar-Mohal of Isfahan and spent the first ten years of my life in villages and in close touch with peasants, feel

justified in giving an account of the memories of those days without adding anything to it or subtracting from it, as an example of the life of the peasant yesterday. These memories are related to a time half a century ago, when the conditions of the people and country completely differed from those of to-day.

“.....I shall never forget the rush of the vanguard and horsemen of the big landlords upon our village and the neighbouring villages arriving haughtily and proudly like the army of Chengiz, parading their horses, and they never worried about it if a child was knocked down and brained under the horses’ legs. The peasants had to cease their work by the order of the headman, of the village, and provide comfortable rooms and delicious food for these horsemen, and the best fodder for their horses. The village abandoned its normal life; there was a bustle of excitement mixed with fear and anxiety. Sometimes one could hear the cries of the peasants who were being whipped by the vanguard of these horsemen. That night nobody slept a wink, for they had to prepare next day’s breakfast and lunch. How many days were these uninvited guests going to remain there? It all depended on their own choice. When they departed there was nothing left for the villagers.

“..... The course of military service raised me to the rank of a commander, and the security of a section of my sacred country was entrusted to me. At this time, I, too, was a witness to the inhuman deeds of some of these godless landowners. I myself saw a farmer who was branded for resisting the greed of the landlord, and another peasant whose nails had been pulled out.”

The enforcement of the Law of Land Reform saved the Iranian peasant from the hard conditions of the past; it safe-

guarded the economic and political independence and social rights of the agricultural classes, and led them along a road whose destination was self-reliance, true liberty, increase of the perhead income, and welfare and happiness.

### **Nationalization of Forests**

In the days when feudal lords, landlords and influential men extended their transgression to the natural wealth of the country, forests too gradually came under the control these transgressors, and they managed to secure deeds of ownership for forests, though forests like mines, rivers, lakes and other natural resources belong to the nation. Without paying attention to technical principles, they exploited this plundered wealth as much as possible and continued to cut down trees unsparingly, gradually destroying forests. The Law of the Nationalization of Forests put an end to this pillage, and returned this national wealth to its real owner, that is, the nation. The Forestry Organization, attached to the Ministry of Agriculture, was charged by this law to take possession of forests, and exploit them in a scientific and technical manner.

Articles One and Two, and Note No. 1 of this Law which was approved in the Cabinet meeting of 17th January 1963, are as follows:—

**Article One** — From the date of the ratification of this Law, the open space and superstructure of all forests, pastures and natural thickets of the forest lands of this country are made national property belonging to the government, even though before this date they may have been occupied by individuals, and deeds of ownership may have been secured by them.

**Article Two** — The preservation of the said resources, and reafforestation and their exploitation are entrusted to the Forestry Organization.

**Note One** — The Forestry Organization is authorised to administer the exploitation of the above resources, or

conclude contracts with individuals for this purpose.”

Here is a summary of the measures taken by this Organisation after the enforcement of the Law of Nationalization of Forests by 20th January 1965:—

- 1 — For the scientific exploitation of forests on the basis of 41 projects, prepared by Iranian experts, a total of 226,337 cubic metres of industrial wood and 16,391 tons of charcoal were prepared, and about 12,000 cubic metres of walnut trunks and branches and other exportable wood were exported.
- 2 — The armed forces of forests, composed of conscript officers, and non-commissioned officers were given the duty of guarding the forests to prevent all encroachments on forests and pastures and check any damage being done to forest areas. The Forest Guard and officials of the Ministry of Agriculture checked every irregular and excessive grazing of cattle which might damage the pastures, reduce the fodder or cause erosion of the soil. At the same time to encourage cattle men and animal husbandry, grazing was declared to be free in national pastures, thus liberating them from the hands of blackmailers and men who exercised extortion.
- 3 — To prepare five million saplings of forest trees, storage lands were prepared in 25 parts of the country in which more than three and a half million saplings were planted and prepared for transfer to the original earth, 42 hectares of spruce-fir nursery were created in which more than one and half million saplings were planted. Projects were prepared for the reafforestation of 3500 hectares of damaged forests, and 810 hectares of artificial forests were created in which over two million saplings were planted.

4 — The Forestry Branch of the Agricultural College was expanded, and 45 engineers were sent to America and Europe and some Asiatic countries like Turkey, India and Pakistan for further studies in forestry. In the school of forestry and pasture of Gorgan, every year 25 graduates are trained for service in the forests.

### **The Sale of Shares of Government Factories**

This law which was drawn up as a covering for land reform, and ratified by the cabinet, comprises 14 Articles and a list of government factories whose shares are to be sold. It has two aims:—

1 — The government had never been able to manage its factories like other industrial units and private companies run by individuals which would bring in profits and have economic independence. It often happened that in order to stop a factory from being closed down, every year a part of the public funds was spent to make up for the losses incurred by this factory. With the sale of the shares of government factories, they became commercial units, and nameless shares were given to individuals, thus saving the government from losses incurred in this way.

2 — Making use of these shares as covering for land reform, and offering them to big landowners instead of cash for the purchased land, prevented the capital from remaining idle or going out of the country. It gave these former owners of land the assurance that the capital thus obtained from the sale of their property would be used in industry and produce an annual profit.

As a result of the enforcement of this law, these units became joint-stock companies, the factories were run with a greater power, and their worth increased. Parallel with the economic stabilization of the factories and increase in the value of their shares, the instalment bonds of land reform, given by the Ministry of Agriculture to former landlords, were

now considered as negotiable bills in the exchange, which these landlords could turn into cash whenever necessary in the banks or free markets.

The factories whose shares were presented for sale were sugar factories, weaving factories, building material factories, cotton, silkworm seeds and chemical industries.

### Workers sharing the profits of workshops

The fourth principle of the White Revolution which enabled all workers to share in the profits of all productive units was ratified in the cabinet meeting on 7th January 1963, and it is one of the most progressive laws of the modern world.

It comprises 20 Articles and 10 Notes; and the first two articles are as follows:—

**Article One** — The employers of industrial and productive workshops to whom the Law of Labour applies, must enforce the provisions of this law in connection with their employees. The questions of application and the date of the enforcement of the said provisions in each workshop shall be determined by a commission headed by the Minister of Work and Social Service or his deputy, and consisting of the representatives of the Ministries of Finance, Industries and Mines, and Justice and an expert on economic and social matters.

**Article 2** — The employers of the workshops to whom this law applies according to the verdict of the commission mentioned in Article One, must draw up collective agreements by the end of May 1963 at the latest with the deputies of the employees of the workshop or the syndicate which consists of the majority of the workers of the workshop, granting compensations in proportion to the acquisition or savings in the expenditure, or acceptance of wastage, or allowing the employees to share the net revenues, or similar methods, or methods combining two or more of the

said methods which would increase the income of the workers. A copy of the said collective agreement must be sent to the Ministry of Work and Social Services. Such agreements must not be contrary to the existing laws and regulations of the country.

This sharing of profits by workers, has certain psychological and social consequences which will be clarified below. A worker in a workshop, like a peasant who farms land, would be interested in the life and permanence of his workshop only when he shares in the profits of the workshop, and feels that his interest lies in the continuity and expansion of the workshop and increase of production. His sharing in the net profits gives him a psychological security in his relation with the employer which forms a barrier against the influence of misleading ideas and extremist views which for various reasons spread more quickly among the working classes. In this way a healthier atmosphere is created for work, and the worker considers himself part owner of the workshop, and feels some responsibility with regard to the materials and appurtenances of the workshop and their preservation. The obsessions which used to appear in the old system of managing the workshops towards the employer, will now find no opportunity to grow. As in the old tyrannical regime of masters and serfs, the peasant never understood the true meaning of country, but became patriotic as soon as he was given the chance to own land and find financial and economic independence and individual freedom, the worker, too, by sharing in the profits of the factory, found it in his heart to be truly patriotic. This psychological result must be considered one of the most important consequences of the White Revolution of the King and People.

But from an economic point of view, too, the enforcement of this law had brilliant results, for it raised the level of production in industrial units. The conditions of work had been made desirable by the enforcement of the Law of Labour and Social Insurance of Workers, in the same manner as

it had been effected in the most progressive countries of the world. Now, this law which enabled the worker to share the profits, made the workers realise that his effort in the improvement and increase of production would bring him other rewards in addition to his wages.

## 2 — Social Transformation

### Parliamentary Election

Big landowners, tribal chiefs, feudal lords and capitalists who were called the “nobility” and formed the fortunate minority of the society in Iran, contrary to the truth and reality always occupied the parliamentary seats as representatives of the nation, and by taking advantage of parliamentary privilege they tried to hinder the ratification of any law or project which might do the least damage to their private interests. If occasionally a law was passed in favour of the deprived majority, they stopped its execution by their power and influence, or at least they transformed it in such a way that in practice was harmful to the majority. This was particularly facilitated since the administrative machine was often manned by their followers and devotees, and the interference of the legislative in the executive and legal institutions reached such a point that both the latter powers were subjected to the decision and order of the influential members of the legislative.

One of the important factors in the success of landlords in parliamentary elections was the regime of mastery and serfdom, the unlimited domination of the landlord over the farmer, and the exclusion of the peasantry from social rights. On election days, the landlord sent his steward to bring the peasants in groups to the constituencies, and the illiterate peasant who saw his life depending on the goodwill of the master, carried out the order of the master's steward without the smallest resistance. Another factor was the manner of the formation of the election board which was

never free from the membership of the landlords, capitalists and nobility, while enlightened classes, workers and farmers who formed the majority of the nation were never allowed to meddle with the formation of this board.

Even if the election board were composed of honest and impartial individuals, since the voters came before the board with their identity card and in a very limited period of time took their election forms and cast their votes, it was not possible to investigate the past record of the voters and their competence, and since the general election did not take place at exactly the same time throughout the country, and because the election boards intentionally or unintentionally did not stamp the identity cards of the voters, the way was open for all kinds of fraud by electionary brokers and middlemen. It often happened that a man voted several times with the same identity card in various towns or villages; and even the nullified cards of dead persons were utilized for casting votes.

The exclusion of the women, who formed half of the population of the country, from participation in the election was an important problem which was considered a great social defect. Putting an end to this exclusion and granting civic rights and political liberty to the women was a necessary step for perfecting constitutional monarchy and strengthening the foundation of true democracy. This was particularly urgent, as fruitful efforts had been made in the reign of Reza Shah for the propagation of learning and literacy among the women; and in the last ten years Iranian women had been able to rival men in learning and social and political activities.

An important point worth mentioning is that time, circumstance and the evolutionary advance of nations in the last half a century had raised the level of thought of the people of the world, caused an expansion of science and education, destroyed tyrannical customs, abolished the inequality of the natural human rights of individuals in various socie-

ties, and created a political transformation in most countries which perforce included our society. This intellectual transformation necessitated a revision of the laws and regulations of the past whose conditions did not correspond with the present needs. A law can be called sacred only when it is based on the interests of the majority in the society. This revision of laws was in harmony with the ideas of the far-sighted and realistic King, who proposed the fifth principle of the White Revolution for the solution of this grave social and political problem.

The cabinet approved the following Articles on 9th January 1963 to safeguard the correctness and freedom of election and its proper execution and to make speed and propriety two essential points to be observed in the elections:—

**Article 2** — Such steps as increasing the number and to show whether each voter is qualified to vote, he should register his name before the election in the register books prepared by the Ministry of the Interior and distributed among the villages and towns, and receive a special election card.

**Article 2** — Such steps as increasing the number of election sub-boards must be taken so that the general election is completed in one day in the whole country.

**Article 3** — The manner of registration and the documents to be presented by the voter shall be determined in the regulations which are to be prepared by Ministry of the Interior and approved by the cabinet.

**Article 4** — The classes mentioned in Article 14 in the Law of election are as follows: clergymen, merchants, tradesmen, farmers workers, peasants (namely a farmer who owns his cultivated land.)

On 27th February 1963, the King issued the decree for the participation of women in the election and the establishment of perfect equality of social and political rights

between men and women in Iran, thus putting into practice the most progressive idea of social transformation in our society. With this legal decree which was drawn by the cabinet on 7th March 1963, based on the royal decree, the women in addition to obtaining the right of electing, were given the right of being elected to both Houses, while even in some of the advanced countries of the world, the women have not yet secured this right. The elections were carried out in October 1963, on the basis of the previous laws and the new ones, and several women were elected as senators and deputies, and in the place of powerful landlords and rich capitalists, now workers, agriculturalists, enlightened and educated men of the middle class and business men occupied the parliamentary seats. The Parliament zealously approved the Bills drawn up on the principles of the White Revolution.

On 27th February 1963, which came to be called the "Day of Woman's Rights", the King, addressing a large gathering of women who had come to the royal court to offer their thanks, said:—

"..... To-day another step was taken and the last so-called social disgrace of our society, namely the exclusion of half of our population, was done away with. We broke the last chain, and henceforth all individuals in this country shall participate in their own social affairs, and side by side they shall try their utmost for the exaltation, honour, progress, welfare and happiness of this nation and country. I am sure, that you ladies will consider this matter so significant, and are so well aware of this great duty which is placed on your shoulders to-day, that you will understand and perform this social duty better than anyone else."

### **The Army in the Service of Peace**

The King, in an address to the army officers deliver-

ed in the Officers' Club on 27th October 1942, had expressed the following opinion about the army;

"..... What you should remember is this that wearing the officer's uniform requires certain conditions, that is, an officer should be honourable, continent, honest, patriotic and dutiful. ..... You are the army of the Iranian nation and should always have service to the country before your mind's eyes."

The Iranian national army, under the leadership of the King who in accordance with the Constitution acts as commander-in-chief of the forces, followed the path of evolution like other organisations in the country. Although the foreign policy of Iran, as we shall mention later, is based on peacefulness and preservation of friendly relations with all countries, the King spared no effort in perfecting the equipment, and raising the defensive power of the army. His mind was constantly occupied with the idea of utilising this great human force in the way of public and social services for the country and nation. He did not want only to use this force for the welfare of the country, but also to change the judgement of some short-sighted people who considered the army as a separate entity from the nation.

The events of December 1946, and the warm welcome given to the royal army by the liberty-loving people of Azarbayan made this fact clear that the majority of Iranians understood the importance of the armed forces and were deeply attached to the soldiers and defenders of this land who are the children of this same society; that they love their commander-in-chief, namely the King, and can never consider the nation and the army as two things apart. But the King, with his lofty ideas and his originality, placed the army in the service of peace and on 9th January 1963 presented his sixth principle of the White Revolution by creating the Literacy Corps to facilitate the execution of the law of compulsory general instruction. This was followed by the decree establishing the Health Corps and Prosperity Corps, com-

posed of school and university graduates liable to military service. Thus the King took a step which was unprecedented in the whole world.

The legal decree for the formation of the Literacy Corps was ratified by the cabinet on 26th October 1962, comprising one Article and 3 Notes. Its supplementary Bill was drawn up by the Ministries of War and Education, comprising 8 Articles and 4 Notes, and it was ratified by the cabinet on 3rd December 1962. On the occasion of the enforcement of this decree, the King, referring to the campaign of this Literacy Corps as "a national crusade", said:

"The holy battle which began in the whole country on the 21st of December 1962 for the suppression of the demon of ignorance, and for the propagation of literacy in all the towns and villages with the aid of the fine youth of this land, is to my mind a national crusade, and I expect all the devoted children of this land on whose manliness depends the victory in this crusade, to remember their grave and glorious responsibility and never forget that they are henceforth the soldiers

who are fighting in the first line of the battle.

To-day, the whole world is watching our victory in a battle which is being fought for the first time by the Iranian and with Iranian initiative. It is evident that in this battle, I, who have ordered the creation of the Literacy Corps, will lead the way everywhere as the standard-bearer of this national crusade."

The King's originality and initiative was everywhere in the world received with wonder and admiration. Those nations which were already acquainted with the ancient civilisation and culture of Iran and its contribution to the world, declared that Iran under the leadership of its King was once more becoming the torch-bearer of learning and a model for those countries, which were faced with the ignorance and illiteracy of the majority of their nation, so that they may find

the easiest way for uprooting illiteracy.

The first group of the Literacy Corps, consisting of 2,460 youths, were sent to towns and villages after being given four-months' training. They began their crusade against ignorance and illiteracy in the villages with eagerness and determination. They were so welcomed by the villagers that when their period of service came to an end and they returned to Tehran, the villagers insistently requested the Ministry of Education to send those men back to their villages.

According to the report of the Minister of Education read on 7th October 1964 in the presence of the King on the occasion of the Mehragan celebration, (1) out of the first group of the Literacy Corps 2,332 youths had accepted service as teachers in villages, and 566 of the second group and 3,492 of the third group were despatched to villages for a campaign on illiteracy.

The Minister of Education asked the King's leave to send 3,450 of the fourth group to other towns and villages. Thus by October 1964, a total of 9968 school graduates who were called up for military service, were actively fighting against illiteracy, and their efforts in this work and the work of guiding villagers in health and sanitation problems and co-operative activities won the King's satisfaction. According to the report of the Minister of Education these are the fruitful results of the operations of the first three groups of the Literacy Corps:—

1 — 226,170 boys and girls and 12,681 adults became literate.\*

2 — 3,818 elementary schools, having two to six rooms, were built under the guidance of the youths of Literacy Corps and the help of the villages, and in 2,700 villages suitable buildings were re-

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(1) A celebration held by educational institutions at the beginning of the academic year in September.

paired and prepared for schools.

3 — 56 mosques, and theatres for passion-plays, 185 hygienic public baths and 143 bridges were built or repaired; 1200 kilometers of branch roads were repaired and levelled for communication between villages, and under the guidance of these youths 1500 postal centres were established.

One of these men of the Literacy Corps has given the following account of the activity of such a soldier in a village and the consequences of his activities:—

“..... The first day that he goes to a village he has nothing at his disposal. There is no school, or class, and there is not even a faith or interest in learning. The Literacy Soldier begins his indefatigable efforts from scratch. He must somehow secure a room or two for his class, or build a school with the villagers' help. When the school is ready, he must drag in the children at a time when they are not busy with farm work. He must work ceaselessly for two years to teach these children how to read and write and get acquainted with their duties and privileges.

..... These soldiers start with instructing the farmers and their children, and end it by teaching them the meaning of co-operation. This has meant undertaking such work of public utility as digging wells and canals, drains, dredging of streams or building schools. In this way they do not only teach the new way of life, but also make the farmers realise how they can meet most of their needs by collective effort and collaboration.”

Among other important steps taken by the King in the way of the expansion of the army for peace, is the formation of the Health Corps in order to make the life of peasants and people in remote towns healthy, and the creation of another corps to promote prosperity and reconstruction,

to teach the modern methods of farming, the choice of seeds, a campaign against animal and vegetable pests, the preservation of the health of domestic animals, the preparation of hygienic dairy products and other agricultural products. These activities are undertaken by school graduates who have had some training in medicine, veterinary science or agriculture.

### **World Campaign against Illiteracy**

On the occasion of the formation of the 13th General Assembly of Unesco in Paris, when the question of the campaign against illiteracy was on its agenda, the king took another great historical step, which must certainly be considered an international achievement. On 19th October 1964, His Majesty sent a telegraphic message to all the monarchs and presidents of all of other countries which were members of Unesco, asking them to turn the campaign against illiteracy into an extensive all-round movement in the world. In another message to the Unesco General Assembly on 20th October, the King asked this great scientific and educational institution to invite on his behalf the Ministers of Education of the 114 members of Unesco for an exchange of views on the campaign against illiteracy and to become familiar with the work of the Iranian Literacy Corps, to a congress to be held in Tehran. This invitation was unanimously approved and accepted in the session of the educational committee of Unesco on 30th October 1964, and in the meeting of the General Assembly on 19th November.

In his message to the monarchs and presidents and heads of other countries, the King said:—

“ I have sent this message to draw your Majesty’s (Your Excellency’s) special attention to a very important human problem, of whose significance, I am sure, Your Majesty (Your Excellency) and the responsible authorities of your country have been well

aware. This problem is the question of campaigning against illiteracy for the purpose of saving hundreds of millions of individuals of human society from a calamity which has at present caused much suffering.

If I am sending this message as King of Iran to your Majesty (Your Excellency), it is because unfortunately my country, inspite of its brilliant educational and cultural record, is at the moment grappling with this calamity of illiteracy. Consequently we are in a position to feel deeply the pain from which many other nations are suffering. To fight against this pain in a decisive and effective manner, we have taken steps for the formation of a force, called the Literacy Corps, whose budget is provided out of our military funds, and I believe this measure to be unprecedented in the world .....

And now an excerpt from the King's message to the General Assembly of Unesco, read by its chairman in the first session of the conference:—

"On the occasion of the 13th session of the General Assembly of the Unesco, particularly as the important and vital question of campaigning against illiteracy is on its agenda, it is a great pleasure to me to send the deputies of the nations which are participating in this conference, my own greetings and those of my nation, and sincerely wish them the greatest success in a battle on which depends the future happiness of human society. Perhaps in the whole human history no such opportunity has been found in which human society has made a finer, more honourable and human effort, and perhaps it has never happened that the collective destiny of such a great number of mankind has depended on the results of such an effort and campaign.

The crusade which is being waged under the leadership of Unesco with the collaboration of most nations and governments of the world, is a crusade to enable hundreds of millions of individuals, who are not to blame for tolerating a tyrannical fate, to benefit from human respect and personality. As long as there exists such a great mass of deprived persons on the Earth, the conscience of none of those who enjoy all the blessings of civilization and culture through the gift of learning, can be at peace; for the continuation of such a state for one section of human society is in itself a proof of the moral condemnation of the rest of this society.

When in the hall of the Unesco building the delegates of almost all the countries of the world are engaged in an exchange of views for collaborating in a campaign against the greatest calamity of human history, we feel that that this hall and this building has become a temple in which the most brilliant ideas of mankind are manifested; and surely the ancient philosophy of Iran, too, which is based on the eternal struggle between good and evil, cannot, find a better place than in an assembly which has the same aim, in order to manifest the shining glory of goodness and truth."

The General Assembly of Unesco inssued a manifesto on 19th November 1964 concerning its approval of a congress of Ministers of Education to be held in Tehran. The last section of this manifesto will be quoted below:—

"..... In view of the magnanimous proposal of His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran for holding such a congress in Tehran, and in view of the declaration of the head of the Iranian delegation in the 13th General Assembly of Unesco to the effect that there

will follow no imposition on the budget of Unesco by this step and that the Iranian government will pay the expenditure of such a congress, it was resolved in the General Assembly of Unesco that the world congress of the campaign against illiteracy, composed of the Ministers of Education of all the member countries of Unesco, should be held in Tehran in 1965. The executive committee is invited to fix a definite date for this congress in collaboration with the Director-general of Unesco and the Iranian government."

To propagate public instruction and uproot illiteracy in the country, and mobilize all human forces and financial resources in order to attain this aim, and allow Iran to play an effective part in the international campaign against illiteracy, a committee, called the National Committee of the World Campaign against Illiteracy" was formed by royal decree, issued on 22nd December 1964, under the auspices of His Majesty; and this committee was to draw up its constitution and enforce it as soon as it received the royal assent.

This committee is composed of Her Highness Ashraf Pahlavi, the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Court, the Foreign Minister, the Chairman of the Board of Directors and the Acting manager of the National Oil Company, the Minister of Finance, Minister Without Portfolio, the Minister of Education, the Head of the National Committee of Unesco, the Director of the Plan Organisation and the Educational Adviser and Spokesman of the Imperial Court. The last person may nominate Secretary-general of the committee.

The constitution of the committee, which received the royal assent, comprises 16 Articles, the first four Articles of which are as follows: —

**Article One** — The National Committee of the World Campaign against Illiteracy is formed by royal decree for the purpose of mobilizing all the human forces and financial resources of the country and har-

monizing all their activities for a campaign against illiteracy in Iran, and for carrying out the aims of the world campaign.

**Article Two** — The committee shall function under the auspices of His Imperial Majesty, and its members shall be nominated by him.

**Article 3** — The committee is an educational, non-profitmaking institution, possessing legal identity. Its centre shall be Tehran, and it can establish local branches in other parts of the country.

**Article 4** — The duties of the committee are: to strengthen and expand the activities of various governmental and national institutions in the campaign against illiteracy and harmonize these activities; to secure general co-operation and make use of all possible administrative, financial and human factors in the country to promote this aim; to safeguard the effective participation of Iran in the campaign against illiteracy in every respect, particularly in the matters of holding congresses, conferences and international education seminars in Iran and other countries, for instance in holding the world congress of the Ministers of Education of all the member countries of Unesco, which is to take place in Tehran in September 1965, in accordance with the Unesco manifesto of 19 November 1964.

## Chapter Five

### The Foreign and International Policy of Iran

#### A Glance at the Past

The foundations of the foreign and international policy of Iran were laid twenty-five centuries ago by the foresight and prudence of the Achaemenid kings. The Iranian Empire at that time was the most powerful political unit of Ancient Times. For the first time in the history of the East and West, it joined the world of civilisation together, and by means of creating the greatest and the most regular network of international communications, brought various nations and races close to one another. Cyrus the Great, the philanthropic and just king of Iran, issued the charter of freedom of nations. Thus Iran began to play its fundamental part in the relation between nations, six centuries before Christ; and in all periods of history, inspite of the difficulties and calamities caused by its special geographical situation, Iran was always one of the strongest links which joined the East and West together, and the Iranian nation always tried to bring about a closer relationship of all hearts, of whatever race or nationality.

The political changes which began at the end of the 18th century, particularly in Europe, and continued until the First World War, left a mark on the foreign policy of Iran, the most important of which was due to the expansion of an imperialistic policy in Asia. The clash of the imperialistic policies of Great Britain and Russia in the Middle East and Iran, caused irreparable intellectual and material losses to Iran, whose independence was gradually threatened, owing to the weakness of the Qajar kings against foreign pressure and military defeats from the invading forces of Russia and Great

Britain, a number of unfair treaties were imposed on Iran. This weakness reached such a point that the destiny of this country and nation was determined in St. Petersburg and London. For the Tsarist Russia, Iran was the easiest way of reaching the Persian Gulf and the Indian peninsula. British statesmen considered this zone a menace to the rich colony of India. These two powerful governments, after years of conflict, finally decided to divide Iran into two spheres of influence a few years before the First World War, and when the war began they filled the gaps of the first treaty by a second secret treaty and ruled their spheres of influence by means of their military forces.

His Late Majesty, Reza Shah the Great, after establishing legal and political security in the country, began his attempts to break the chains with which the powerful governments had enchain ed Iran and had destroyed its independence in foreign policy. By abolishing capitulation he took an effective step in strengthening Iran's foreign policy, and thenceforth he endeavoured to extend political, economic and cultural relations with various countries of the world, and in this respect that patriotic king was greatly successful.

The Second World War and the Allied military occupation of Iran, which disrupted the affairs of the country, inevitably had a direct influence on the foreign and international policy of Iran. As mentioned in the first chapter, Iran joined the Allies, and under the leadership of the present King, adopted a new policy as a result of which Iran abandoned the policy of seclusion in international politics and found a new political stability, and was once more able to follow the course which by historical mission and moral tradition had been adopted by the Achaemenid kings in world politics.

## 1 — Foreign Policy

### General Principles in Foreign Policy

His Majesty, in accordance with the exigencies of the

time, stated the principles of the Iranian foreign policy in the following terms, on the opening of the 13th House of Representatives on the 13th of November 1941:—

“..... Circumstances make it necessary to follow the policy of good relationship with friendly governments, and particularly a close co-operation with those countries whose interests and ours are closely connected, on the basis of the perfect preservation of the interest of Iran.”

Four years passed and the Second World War came to an end. As mentioned before, Iran showed so much self-sacrifice and devotion in the way of Allied victory, that it came to be called “the Bridge of Victory” by the Allied leaders, and its valuable services for the re-establishment of peace were much praised. A few weeks after the war terminated, the King, in an interview with the Reuter representative on the 15th September 1945 said in connection with the foreign policy of Iran:—

“..... The basic of our foreign policy is to strengthen friendly relations with great powers, namely the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, France, China and the United States. Here, without exaggerating my national sentiment, I must declare that the preservation and development of such a relationship is possible only if there exists a strong and independent Iran, whose independence has been guaranteed in a famous declaration signed by President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and Sir Winston Churchill.

“..... History shows clearly that the almost one-century-old conflict between Great Britain and Russia has always involved losses for us. Without a doubt if Iran can have perfect independence, and can, in accordance with the existing treaties, sustain a good relationship with its great neighbours, it will be to the interest of both the Great Powers. I sincerely hope that

there will no longer exist a question related to Iran which might lead to the renewal of the historical conflicts and differences between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., but on the contrary I hope that Iran will be considered by both of them to have the power and authority to determine its own destiny and its national interests, and to be a means of friendship between their two countries through the privilege of its geographical position."

A comparison of this interview with the King's address at the opening of the Parliament on 9th February 1949, will show the evolutionary development of the Iranian foreign policy:—

"Our foreign policy is to strengthen friendly relations on the basis of mutual respect with our neighbours and all other countries of the world, and to show adherence, as before, to the principles and provisions of the United Nations' Charter which we consider the only guarantee and preserver of world peace."

The general principles which were adopted by the King were always formally declared in the programmes of successive governments in presenting their cabinets to the Parliament. In fact, the political stability at home, followed by progress and changes in economic and social matters, an account of which was given in the previous chapters, made it necessary to place foreign policy on a sound basis of national interests. These principles may be summarized as follows:—

- 1 — The establishment of friendly political, economic and cultural relations with any country which desires such relations, on condition that they are not contrary to the interests of Iran.
- 2 — The development of the existing relations between Iran and other countries.
- 3 — Complete support of the nations which have risen to liberate themselves from the bonds of imperialism and to secure their independence.

- 4 — Complete support of the United Nations' Organization and world peace.
- 5 — The abandonment of the policy of neutrality, the uselessness of which was proved in the First and Second World Wars, and the adoption of a clear-cut positive course of action in foreign policy.

Concerning the fifth point, the King made the following statement on two occasions, once in an address to the Parliamentary deputies on 9th February 1957, and another time on the occasion of the Public levee at the Ghadir Festival on 17th July 1957:—

“..... After 150 years of aimlessness which was given the name of neutrality, we courageously adopted our new course by which we secured worthy allies on the one hand, and gained a position to win the respect of other governments on the other. The Irano-Soviet frontier agreement was signed, and in this way the 150-years-old differences with our northern neighbour came to an end under conditions which are perfectly in our interests.”

## Official Visits

As the King served as a wise guide to the executive and legislative powers at home, in the same manner he took the initiative in foreign policy and raised the political position of Iran in the world. The King believes in the settlement of political and frontier differences and similar problems by means of direct contact and discussion with the leaders of various governments. During the Second World War he made use of the opportunity of the presence of the Allied leaders in Tehran to discuss a number of points in connection with Iranian interests. His coversance with international problems and his insight in political matters won the admiration and praise of the American President and British and Soviet leaders. The Tehran Declaration was made by the leaders of the three great powers, guaranteeing the

independence and territorial integrity of Iran during the war and the post-war periods, and this must be considered the first success of the King in securing a firm foundation for the independence of Iran with regard to foreign policy.

After the official visit to Iran in December 1943, of Dr. Edward Benes, late President of Czechoslovakia, the King started his official visits from the year 1948, in each of which visits some problems related to Iran were solved, followed by the conclusion of useful agreements between Iran and other countries.

From 1948 to May 1965, the King made official or private visits to 25 Asiatic, European and American countries and met their leaders. The fine speeches, the pithy statements, the logical judgements and sound views of the King placed him in the first rank of great statesmen of the world. These trips as well as the visits of the leaders of other countries to Tehran produced many good results, a summary of which will be mentioned here:—

1 —As a result of these visits the foreign policy of Iran lost its former stiffness and weakness in a manner desired by the King. A change took place in the attitude of foreign leaders and diplomats towards Iran, and the world became acquainted with the distinctive personality and versatile knowledge of the Shahinshah in political matters. This brought a greater political credit to Iran, and as President Johnson and the leader of other countries have repeatedly declared, the prudent policy of the King has placed Iran amongst the ranks of the most powerful countries of the world.

2 — The leaders of various countries and foreign diplomats, in their trips to Iran, became familiar with the social and political changes effected in this country, and of the effort by the nation under the leadership of the King for raising the standard of living, and for progress in educational, social and economic fields; and they desired to expand their political, economic and cultural relations with

## Iran.

Here is a list of the official visits of the King and heads of other states to show the reader the countries visited by the Shahanshah to introduce his country to the world, and to strengthen the independence of Iran in its foreign policy:—

- 1 — Visit to England, France and Italy in 1948.
- 2 — Visits to the United States, and Pakistan in 1949, and the visits of Amir Abdolelah, Viceroy of Iraq, Malek Abdollah, King of Jordan, and Mohammad Zaher Khan, King of Afghanistan, to Iran.
- 3 — The visit to Jordan in 1951, and the visits to the United States, Federal Germany and England in 1954.
- 4 — The visits of Jalal Bayar, Turkish President, and the King of Sa'oudi Arabi to Iran in 1955, and the King's visit to India in February 1956.
- 5 — Visits to Turkey in May 1956 and to the Soviet Union in July 1956, visits of the Lebanon President and Eskandar Mirza, President of Pakistan in October 1956, and the King's visit to Sa'oudi Arabia in March 1957.
- 6 — Visits to Spain in May 1957, and to Lebanon in December 1957, and the visits of the Italian President, and Malek Feisal of Iraq to Iran in September and October 1957.
- 7 — Visits to National China, Japan, the Vatican and Italy in 1958, the visit of Sheikh Abdollah-o-Salem, Emir of Kuwait to Iran in the same year.
- 8 — Visits to England, Holland and Denmark in 1959, and visits to Jordan and Pakistan in 1959-60, and the visits of Marshal Ayub-Khan, President of Pakistan, and President Eisenhower to Iran.
- 9 — Visit to Sweden, Belgium and Austria in May 1960, and the visits of Malek Hossein, King of Jordan, Crown Prince of Japan and Queen Eli-

zabeth of England to Tehran in 1961.

- 10 — Visits to Norway in May 1961, to France in October 1961, to the United States in April 1962, and to Afghanistan in July-August 1961. The King made another private visit to the United States in June 1964 to open the Exhibition of Seven Thousand Years of Iranian Art.
- 11 — The visits of the King and Queen of Denmark, Dr. Radha Krishnan, President of India, the Queen of Holland, General De Gaulle, President of France, President Luke, of West Germany, Brezhnev the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. to Iran in 1963.
- 12 — The visit to Istanbul in July 1964 to take part in the high conference of the heads of Pakistan, Turkey and Iran, an account of which will be given hereafter. The visits of Hailé Selassi, Emperor of Ethiopia to Iran in September 1964, of Bedouin, King of Belgium in November, Habib Borghibé, President of Tunisia in March 1965.

The visit of the King and Queen to Brazil, Argentine, Canada and France in May 1965 was one of the longest undertaken from the point of view of the distance covered, and it involved great political, economic and cultural benefits, such as the creation of chairs of the Persian language and literature in the universities of Brazil, Argentine and Canada, and the safeguarding of a close economic and cultural collaboration between Iran and these countries. The second visit of the King to the Soviet Union in June 1965 led to a greater friendly and neighbourly relation and economic co-operation between Iran and the Soviet Union.

#### **Reciprocal Agreements**

The visits of the King to other countries were the

most effective factor in the freedom of action in foreign policy, and the drawing up of a series of reciprocal agreements with most governments, and in the establishment of friendly commercial and cultural relations between them and Iran. In the Society of Foreign Journalists in London the King made the following statement concerning the foreign policy of Iran, on 8th May 1959:—

“..... Concerning foreign policy, Iran knows what course to adopt. Our foreign policy finds its source in our national ideals, and has no aim except to establish lasting and regular international peace.

We are determined to preserve our freedom of action, so as to proceed to the gradual perfection of our institutions without any fear or anxiety from abroad. We esteem our liberty, sovereignty and independence, and are resolved to do away with all misuse of influence and sabotage at home and aggression from abroad. We desire peace and welfare for our people.”

From 1954 onward, as a result of political stability, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, under the King's guidance, increased its activity in expanding foreign relations, and following the King's discussions with the heads of other states, reciprocal agreements were drawn up with a view to preserve and expand friendly relations. From the point of view of subject matter and their contents, these agreements may be divided into three groups:—

I — Friendly agreements to strengthen relations and mutual co-operation for the purpose of expanding international relations on the basis of peace and justice and paving the way for concluding other agreements in economic, judicial and cultural matters. Such agreements have involved the expansion of consular relationships and protection of the rights of each other's nationals, and each party has undertaken to recognise the other party's diplomatic and consular

representatives as possessing the full rights of the delegates whose governments are most favoured. This relationship is to be based on the principles of international laws as well as on reciprocal dealings, and the minimum treatment must not fall below this. Such are the agreements with Jordan signed on 4th May 1955, with Iceland, Lebanon and Italy on 21st December 1955, with Syria on 1st March 1956, and with Spain on 8th April 1957. As an example, the first two Articles of the agreement with Jordan will be cited below:—

**Article One** — Permanent peace and friendship shall be established between Iran and the Jordan and their nationals.

**Article Two** — Both parties to the agreement undertake to establish reciprocal consular and diplomatic relations on the basis of customary international rights, and to allow each other's diplomatic and consular representatives, in accordance with the general principles of international rights and reciprocal dealings, to enjoy the treatment given to the delegates of the most-favoured countries.

2 — Agreements with other countries in order to remove frontier differences and determine frontier points and strips of land bordering both countries, or for the purpose of terminating the state of war and re-establishing diplomatic relations with the Axis powers, or collaboration with other countries in scientific matters, the most important of which are: a peace treaty with Japan, consisting of a Preamble, 27 Articles, two manifestoes and one protocol, signed in September 1951 in San Francisco between the allies and Japan, to which Iran adhered. This treaty was ratified by both Houses on 21st December 1954 and 23rd October. Other agreements include the agreement of the frontier commissars of Iran and Soviet Russia, signed on 4th May 1958, an agreement for the manner of settling Irano-Soviet frontier differences, signed on 19th June 1958, the Irano-Pakis-

tan frontier agreement of 17th July 1958 ,the agreement between Iran and the United States for the non-military use of atomic energy, signed on 1st February 1959.

3 — Reciprocal agreement with countries with which Iran had longstanding diplomatic and friendly relations, in order to strengthen the existing relationship, and to expand commercial and transit relations, or cultural exchanges. The most important of them are the commercial and technical collaboration agreement with West Germany, signed on 21st December 1955, the commercial and naval agreement with India signed on 11th February 1956, the agreement for commercial aerial transport service with Holland, Norway and Sweden of 13th February 1956, the agreement of 1st March 1956 for the facilitation and expansion of transit with Turkey, the cultural agreements of 10th November 1957 with Pakistan and India, the cultural agreement of 10th December 1957 with Lebanon, the agreement of 6th February 1958 with the United States for air transport, the cultural agreement with Greece, and an aerial transport agreement with Switzerland, signed 9th February 1958, a cultural agreement of 11th May 1958 with Japan, a transit agreement of 10th August 1958 with the U.S.S.R., a commercial, residence and naval agreement of 11th December 1958 with Italy, a commercial agreement with Turkey, and an air transport agreement with Belgium and Brazil signed 4th January 1959, the aerial transport agreement of 18th November 1959 with Pakistan, the cultural agreements with Italy, Holland and Great Britain, and an extradition agreement with Pakistan, signed on 17th April 1960.

## 2 — Regional and Defensive Treaties

### **The CENTO Treaty**

The law authorizing the government of Iran to join the Central Treaty organization for mutual co-operation between Iraq and Turkey was approved in the form of a single

Article on 18th October 1955 by the Senate and on 22nd October by the House of Representatives, and after receiving the royal assent, it was communicated to the government for execution.

This treaty, which comprises 8 Articles, was signed in Bagdad on 24th February 1955 between the governments of Iraq and Turkey by their premiers and foreign ministers, and was adhered to by the British government on 4th April 1955, and by Pakistan on 23rd September 1955. Articles 1,3,4 and 5 of this treaty, which came to be called the Bagdad Treaty, will be quoted below:—

**Article One** — The parties to the treaty jointly undertake to collaborate in accordance with Article One of the United Nations' Charter for their own security and defence. The measures which they agree to in order to make this collaboration possible, may become the subject of special agreements.

**Article Three** — Both parties jointly undertake to abstain from all interference in each other's internal affairs, and to settle all their differences by peaceful means in accordance with the United Nations' Charter.

**Article Four** — Both parties declare that the provisions of this treaty are not in contradiction to any of the international undertakings resulting from an agreement of each party with another government or governments, and cannot detract from the said international obligations or cancel them. Both parties undertake not to accept any international obligation which might be contrary to the present treaty.

**Article Five** — This treaty will be open for any government of the Arab federation or any other country which is interested in the security and peace of this region, and which has been recognised by both the contracting parties.”

According to Article 7, the period for the legal validity of the treaty was five years from the date of signing the treaty, subject to renewal for another five years. Six months after the expiry of this period, each party had the option to inform the other party of its desire to abandon the treaty, in which case the treaty would remain valid for the other signatories.

The Bagdad Treaty has envisaged the formation of a council of the signatory ministers on condition that at least four governments adhere to the treaty. For this reason, Iran's adherence to it as a fourth member increased its solidity and importance, and made possible the creation of the council of ministers. Ala was the first Iranian Premier who by the King's instruction took part in the Council of Ministers of the Bagdad Treaty.

The United States Government which considered the political stability and security of the Middle East as a necessary condition for the preservation of world peace, and the Bagdad Treaty as an important factor in this stability and security, expressed its desire to participate in the discussions of the Council of Ministers and its related committees. Some time later, its delegates took part as members in some committees and as observers in others, and that government decided to strengthen this organization as far as possible by economic and technical aid, and to support it diplomatically.

In his book "Mission for My Country", the King has written concerning his first trip to the U.S.S.R. in July 1956 and his discussions with Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders:—

"..... Khrushchev was talking about what he thought was the aggressive and military aspect of the Bagdad Treaty, and said that at first he supposed it to have no military significance, but found later that he was wrong. I answered that in the meetings of the Council the discussions were connected with

the defence of the surrounding areas of the Alborz and that neither of these two ranges of mountains was situated in Russia, and both of them were in Iranian territory.

Kheruschev admitted at last that Iran had no aggressive intentions towards Russia, but stated that a great power might force us, contrary to our own wish, to place our country at its disposal for an attack on Russia, and added that perhaps our adherence to the treaty had been forced upon us for this very purpose.

I answered emphatically that we joined the Bagdad Treaty at our own desire and as a partner with equal rights, that no one had forced us to join, and that even if such pressure had been exerted we would have resisted it, and added that we would never allow our country to be used for aggressive purposes against Soviet Russia. I gave Kheruschev my word as a soldier that as long as I was on the throne of Iran, my country would never agree to aggressive demands against Soviet Russia or become a party to such a step."

After the revolution of 14th July 1958 in Iraq and the establishment of a republic in that country, the new regime expressed its desire to leave the Bagdad Treaty, and in this way the central bureau of the treaty was transferred from Bagdad to Ankara, and its name was changed to Cento. But although the exit of Iraq was not without influence on the peace of the Middle East, this treaty left significant marks in connection with regional co-operation and world peace. The discussions of the Cento Council of Ministers which took place once every few months in Tehran, Karachi and Ankara and sometimes in London, led to resolutions for the expansion of economic and technical co-operation, the development of the means of communication, the facilitation of transport between Iran, Pakistan and Turkey; and a great

number of the projects, drawn up by the Cento committees concerning defensive and economic questions, were carried out.

The 13th session of the Cento Council of Ministers met on 7th April 1965 in Tehran, in which the foreign ministers of Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, Great Britain and United States took part, and the King sent the Council the following message:—

“We are glad to welcome the distinguished delegates of our friendly countries who have come to take part in the 13th session of the Cento Council of Ministers in Tehran. It is a source of satisfaction to us that this Council meets in our capital for the third time in ten years. Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, which form a great society with their common interests, traditions, aims and ideals, have been able, in collaboration with their Western Allies, to strengthen these relationships and give them a definite and practical form.

Our policy of alliance with the West, and the conclusion of the treaty of military defence have played an effective part in reinforcing international collective security. At the same time, Cento has found it necessary to pay special attention to the rapid economic development of the territories in this region. Believing faithfully that economic development and social welfare are the foundations of a true and lasting security, we consider the adoption of this new course with great satisfaction.

“.....We sincerely hope that general disarmament will soon become a world reality, so that all nations may in this way use their powers and resources for creative progress and economic development which are in themselves a guarantee of peace and welfare.”

In the first meeting of the Council, after the King's message was read by the Minister of the Court, and Dr. Khalatbari, Secretary-general of Cento read the report of

the steps taken by Cento, statements were made by the delegate of Pakistan and the Foreign Secretaries of Great Britain and the United States and the Iranian Foreign Minister. Dean Rusk, U.S. Foreign Secretary said:

“..... The Shahinshah of Iran has a special position in the history of Cento. Although His Majesty is still in the prime of life, he has acted as leader to the country and nation for more than 20 years. In the last ten years which have coincided with the creation of Cento, His Imperial Majesty has shown great interest in our common efforts to safeguard the security and advancement of this region in general. We have all gained strength from the support and views of the Shahinshah and his government in the attainment of these aims.”

#### **Agreement for Irano-American collaboration**

After the establishment of a republican government in Iraq and its exit from the Bagdad treaty, the governments of Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and Great Britain invited the U.S. government to join the treaty. Although the U.S. government had already been a member of most of the committees of Cento, for certain reasons it abstained from joining the treaty, but proposed instead to conclude reciprocal treaties of defence with Turkey, Pakistan and Iran, and undertake to aid each of the three countries in case of aggression by international communism.

This proposal was accepted by the three countries, and the agreement for collaboration between the Iranian government and the U.S. government comprising 6 Articles and a preamble was ratified in the form of a Single Article by the House of Representatives on 8th March 1959, and by the Senate on 11th March. The first two Articles of the said agreement are as follows:—

1— The Iranian government is determined to stand

was a delay of two weeks, and meanwhile the terms expressed in the draft of the Irano-American agreements were changed in a manner to serve interests of Iran and satisfactory to the King. This matter as well as the inadmissible insistence of the Soviet delegates on the retirement of Iran from Cento, to which the King was opposed, the question of the reciprocal agreement with Soviet Russia lost its urgency and, as mentioned above, the Irano-American agreement was ratified by the Parliament and approved by the King.

In a speech made by the King on the anniversary of the rising of 19th August, to a large gathering at the airport of Dowshan-Tapeh in Tehran on 19th August 1961, referring to the defensive military treaties, he said:—

“We studied history and saw and calculated that in the last fifty years Iran has constantly been in danger and exposed to encroachment. The result of past experiences and the understanding of historical truths was to make us conclude agreements and treaties with those who could prevent such probable dangers and oppose their repetition. Of course these treaties and military agreements are purely defensive in nature for us, for our policy has ever been a peaceful one, and there has never existed a menace on our part against any neighbour. We are not only attached to peace really and sincerely in view of our ancient culture and civilization, but also because of our national interests we desire a permanent peace in the world so that under its protection we may be able to perform the great tasks which we have undertaken.

“..... It is our wish to see disarmament put into practice in the world, and to see human society saved for ever from the nightmare of war, and to see the insupportable expenditure of armament used for the welfare of the peoples of the world. On the basis of this true and sincere attachment to peace, we have always declared that there exists no danger from Iran

for any of its neighbours, and that our policy is solely to defend its frontiers, and have honourable and friendly relations with its neighbours, on condition that this relationship is based on mutual respect."

### **Regional Co-operation for Reconstruction**

When the Foreign Ministers of Iran, Turkey and Pakistan met at Ankara on July 3rd and 4th 1964, they realised that there were abundant and fresh possibilities for economic, technical and cultural co-operation between the three neighbours, which might be developed outside the framework of the reciprocal or multi-partite co-operation between them, and could serve to supplement the collaboration envisaged in Cento in connection with economic and reconstruction problems. The Council of Ministers decided to form a committee of the experts and high officials of the three countries to draw up special projects in order to strengthen the efforts made for economic progress by means of constant and practical collaboration.

On 18th and 19th July, the Council met in Ankara and submitted its views to the consideration of the heads of the three states. This conference of the heads of the three states (namely Iran, Pakistan and Turkey) met in the Palace of Dolmeh Baghché, Istanbul, on 20th and 21st, July, with His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah acting as chairman, and with the participation of Field Marshal Ayub Khan, President of Pakistan, and General Jemal Gursel, President of Turkey.

The heads of the three states, while believing firmly that regional collaboration is an effective factor in rapid economic advancement, and plays an important part in laying the foundations of peace and stability in this region, decided to strengthen the existing collaboration between the three countries towards the preservation of common interests of the peoples of this region. They confirmed the report of the Council of Ministers concerning the measures taken

to promote regional collaboration, and resolved that the measures related to the new project should be called "Regional Co-operation for Reconstruction."

The King of Iran, in his address at the conclusion of the conference, made the following statement:—

"..... I sincerely hope that these successful discussions and the agreements reached thereby, will lead to a greater economic and political co-operation between the three countries, and will strengthen the peace and stability of this region which have vital significance for the whole world."

At the conclusion of the conference a formal declaration was issued on 22nd July 1964 at the same time in Tehran, Karachi and Ankara, sections of which will be quoted below:—

"The heads of the three states welcomed the decision of the heads of their respective governments for the creation of a regional committee for drawing up projects, consisting of the heads of the plan organisations of the three governments, which will be formed to consider the matters related to regional co-operation and the harmonizing of reconstruction programmes. They agreed to make provisions for the establishment of a secretariat, whose aim will be to aid the regional planning committee and the Council of Ministers.

The heads of the three states declared their fundamental agreements with the following matters:—

- 1 — The free or freer exchange of goods by various practical means such as the conclusion of commercial agreements.
- 2 — The establishment of a greater co-operation between Chambers of Commerce, and possibly the creation of a joint Chamber of Commerce.
- 3 — The drawing up and execution of programmes to safeguard common interests.

- 4 — The reduction of postal rates between the three countries in accordance with home tariffs.
- 5 — The improvement of air transport within the region, and possibly the creation of a well-equipped international line between the three countries which would rival other lines.
- 6 — The consideration of possibilities to safeguard closer cooperation in the question of shipping, including the creation of a joint naval line, or a similar co-operation.
- 7 — Necessary investigations for the expansion and improvement of lines of communications and railways.
- 8 — The conclusion of an agreement in the near future for the expansion of tourism.
- 9 — The abolition of visa formalities between the three countries to facilitate travelling.
- 10 — Mutual Technical assistance by the despatch of experts, and provision of facilities related to the training of technical staff.

The heads of the three states have given other instructions, too, in order to investigate all the possibilities for the expansion of co-operation in cultural matters between the countries in this region.”

In the declaration of the three governments, two important points are mentioned:—

1 — In addition to the efforts of the three countries as members of the regional organisation, further co-operation will be provided under the title of “Regional Co-operation for Reconstruction”, and this point is related to the membership of the three countries in Cento, and the membership of Turkey in Nato, and the undertakings resulting from them.

2 — The heads of the three states have explicitly expressed their agreement to consider the application of other

countries in this region, namely all the countries in the Middle East.

In view of the declarations of the heads of states and the premiers and Foreign Ministers of the three countries, it can be concluded that the agreement of the heads of the three states for reconstruction collaboration has been fulfilled in the real sense of regional co-operation, and in this co-operation which is declared to be extensive in the proclamations the governments outside the region of the Middle East, such as Great Britain and the United States cannot participate. According to the decisions reached by the Premiers of the three states at the Istanbul Conference, the Council of Ministers, to be chosen by each of the three states, will meet once every four months, or more often if necessary, in the capital of one of the three countries, and the head of the state or the head of the government of the country acting as host will be the chairman of the Council. The Council of Ministers is charged with the duty of creating a permanent secretariat within a year of its beginning to function.

### **3 — International Activities**

#### **Iran in the United Nations' Organisation**

When a state of war was declared to exist between Iran and Germany, on September 8th 1943, Iran formally declared its adherence to the Allied Nation's Declaration of 1st January 1942, and the Iranian Minister in Washington signed the declaration on 13th December on behalf of the Iranian government, and the House of Representatives ratified the United Nations' Charter on 4th September 1945. Thenceforth Iran became one of the most loyal members of the United Nations' Organization, and has fully supported this great world organisation with all the material and intellectual means at its disposal.

The international policy of Iran is based on good

understanding with all nations, and an endeavour to safeguard peace in the world. In his messages and addresses, the King has pointed out this principle that the establishment of true peace in the world is not possible except by strengthening the United Nations and by faithful adherence to the United Nations' Charter. The United Nations' Organisation and the institutions attached to it, particularly the Security Council and the International Court of Justice, must be so strong and with such powers of execution that no government, even the most powerful in the world, can refuse to carry out the decisions of UNO.

On United Nations' Day on 18th November 1948, the King declared:

"I hope that the United Nations' Organisation will be respected and loved by everyone, and that it will gain a greater success in the preservation of world peace, so that all nations may be able to continue their works of reconstruction, welfare and justice under the protection of international peace and security; particularly now that owing to the meeting of the heads of countries, the cold war is extenuated, and a more favourable atmosphere is created for the understanding and settlement of differences by peaceful means and sincere collaboration between member countries in accordance with the spirit of the Charter."

The Iranian philosophy of life, and the thoughts and sentiments of this nation about humanity and its love of peace, tranquility and sincerity are demonstrated in the King's statement in answer to the U.S. Foreign Secretary's speech on 17th November 1949, in which he said:

"The noble principle of world brotherhood, of which the holy book of heaven is the harbinger, has been the basis of Iranian metaphysics, philosophy and gnosticism, and the precious treasure of Persian literature is full of examples of this great gnostic and spiritual idea. At a time when most of the world was sunk in darkness, in differences, narrow-

mindedness, barbaric murder and plunder, the great Iranian sages and gnostics were the torch-bearers of this principle of the oneness and continuity of mankind, and with their love of truth and devotion they kept our country a shining centre of spirituality. So, naturally, we, too, who are the heirs of this glorious tradition of philanthropy and love of mankind, are better acquainted with the principle of brotherhood and equality."

The King's policy of philanthropy and seeing the world as a whole, which is the basis of the loyalty of Iran to the principles underlying the United Nations' Organization, as well as the support given to UNO and its related institutions, becomes clear from the statements made by the King in an interview with a special envoy of the B.B.C. on 22nd June 1960:—

“..... Peace is an inseparable subject, consequently the improvement of international relations is an inseparable subject, too. If an opposite pressure is transmitted from one part of the world to another, the tranquility of one part cannot be interpreted as the existence of peace in the whole world. I mean that if peace is to exist in the world, every part should enjoy the blessing of tranquility.”

Iran as a loyal member of UNO has eagerly accepted the membership of all the specialised institutions of UNO and other international organisations. Iranian diplomats have shown a rare competence in various missions given to them by UNO. For example, Nassrolah Entezam, former head of the Iranian delegation in UNO, was nominated President of the General Assembly in its fifth ordinary session in 1950-51, and he discharged his duties with firmness and perfect authority. This diplomat and Dr. Jalal Abdoh and Dr. Mohammd Ali Masoud Ansari, Iranian delegates in the Security Council, after Iran was chosen a member in the years 1955-56, discharged their duties in the best possible manner. The

commissions of Iranian representatives in the mandatory committee of UNO, Dr. Ra'di's, Iranian delegate in Unesco, as vice-president of the regional organisation of UNESCO for the Near and Middle East, and that of Dr. Abdoh as Governor-general of the African Guinea appointed by UNO, were all performed with zeal and interest and a deep respect for the principle of the United Nations' Charter, and the peaceful intentions of UNO. On the application of the Secretary-general of UNO, and in view of the international policy of Iran, based on an attempt to preserve and propagate world peace, a Dokota plane manned with the necessary personnel was sent to the Congo by the Iranian Air Force on the King's instruction on 2nd January 1963, to prepare for the despatch of several jet planes to the Congo. On 16th January, four fighting jet planes, complete with their crew and equipments necessary for operation in the Congo, were placed at the disposal of the Secretary-general of the UNO, and the courage, sense of duty and good behaviour shown by the Iranian pilots and officers in the Congo were praised by the international authorities.

In addition to the participation in the committees attached to UNO, Iran has found membership in all the specialized institutions of UNO and some other international organizations. The efforts and activities of Iranian delegates in the said institutions have always won the praise of the Secretary-general of UNO. The institutions, of which Iran is a member, are:—

The I.L.O. in Geneva; the R.A.O. in Rome; Unesco in Paris; the W.H.O. in Geneva; the International Bank of Reparation and Development in Washington; the I.D.A. in Washington; the I.F.C. in Washington; the international Fund in Washington; the I.C.A.O. in Montreal, Canada; the U.P.U. in Berne, Switzerland; the I.T.U. in Geneva; the W.M.O. in Geneva; the I.M.C.O. in London; the I.C.T.T.O. in Geneva; the I.A.E.A. in Vienna; the U.N.I.C.E.F. in New York, the U.N.H.C.R. in Geneva; the E.C.A.F.E. in Bangkok. At the same

time Iran has been one of the founder members of the International Court of Arbitration at the Hague, Holland, in 1899; and this important international institution has lived through two great wars, and possesses its special constitution and independence of judgement.

Among other international organizations, of which Iran is a member, are: the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property in Geneva; the I.I.A.S. in Brussels; the E.R.O.P.A. in Bangkok, the O.I.M.L. in Paris; the I.R.U. in Geneva; the C.C.C. in Brussels; the International Union for the publication of Customs tariffs in Brussels; the League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva; the UNIDROIT organisation in Rome, the I.C.D.O. in Geneva; the International Society of Criminology in Paris, the I.C.M.M.P. in Liège, Belgium.

### **The Asiatic-African Conference of Bandung**

The existence of common interests between the two continents of Asia and Africa has always been the basis of the close connection of these countries within the framework of UNO, and a means of the confirmation of the steps taken by UNO in liberating various peoples from the bond of imperialism. It was owing to this correlation and sympathy that every year one or two African countries recovered their independence and became members of UNO. The increase in the number of Asiatic and African members of UNO, raised the position and importance of these two groups in international politics. In such a case it was necessary for these countries to harmonize their aims and objectives and national ideals for the welfare of their respective peoples who were 1500 million in number and to secure unanimity in taking steps for achieving their national and international ideals. The Bandung conference was the first collective measure taken by the Asiatic-African group of countries to attain this aim. This conference of 29 independent countries, including Iran, met on 18th April 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia, and after

keen discussions which revealed the deep interest of the delegates in the freedom of nations and the establishment of a real peace in the world, and in safeguarding the interests of the countries in both Continents, a declaration was signed by the delegates of the 29 countries, comprising ten principles, the most important of which was the definite rejection of colonization, the necessity of establishing true peace in the world, the guarantee of the means of social advance and better living and greater freedom for the peoples of these continents, and non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries. The Shahinshah, who has ever been one of the fine heralds of international peace, has supported the resolutions of the Bandung conference since it met, and made the following statement on the second anniversary of this conference on 18th April 1965:—

“It is a source of great satisfaction to me to see that since the formation of the first Asiatic-African conference of Bandung more than forty independent countries in Asia and Africa have secured their rightful place in world society, and have thus ended the old and tyrannical regime of colonisation. At a historical moment, the delegates of 1500 million people of the world signed the ten principles of Bandung and declared that all countries of the world should without fear or doubt, and with a firm faith and good will live together in peace and tranquillity.

It did not take long before the Bandung Conference and the principles adopted by it became the source of inspiration and the signpost of millions of brothers and sisters who are endeavouring to further social progress and safeguard a better life and greater freedom in the remotest parts of the world. Ten years ago, when the Iranian delegates returned from the Bandung conference, we observed with satisfaction that the ten principles of Bandung in every way express our old ideals of foreign policy. Therefore it was natural for us to show devotion to these principles in our relations with all peace-loving nations of the world.”

The Iranian delegates in UNO were always instructed to defend the general and common questions related to the African and Asiatic groups in view of the correlation and mutual assistance between the two Continents. Iran is particularly proud to be considered one of the most active supporters of the declaration for the abolition of the regime of colonization, and a stubborn patron of its immediate execution.

### **The Committee for the Position of Women**

In the last ten years many international conferences and committees attached to the UNO have met in Tehran, and those who have taken part in them on their return home have always praised the chivalry and hospitality of the Iranians. One of these conferences was the 18th session of the Committee for the Position of Women, attached to the economic and social council of UNO, in which the representatives of 20 countries including Iran, National China, Columbia, the Dominican Republic, Finland, France, Ghana, Hungary, Mexico, Nepal, Peru, the Philippines, Poland, Sierra Leone, Egypt, England, the United States, Soviet Russia, Austria and Guinea took part from March 1st to 20th 1965, in Tehran.

The conference was opened with a message by the Queen of Iran, and 13 points were placed on its agenda, which were thoroughly discussed by the delegates of those countries. The 13 points were:

- 1 — The political rights of women.
- 2 — The draft of the declaration concerning the removal of discrimination against women.
- 3 — The UNO aid for the advancement of women.
- 4 — Advisory service in connection with human rights.
- 5 — The legal capacity of women in special rights.
- 6 — The influence of the declarations and recommendations of the committee on the operations of the legislatures of the member countries.

- 7 — The availability of educations for women.
- 8 — Economic rights and opportunities.
- 9 — Equal pay for equal work.
- 10 — Regular reports concerning human right.
- 11 — The report of delegates of the Committee for the Position of women in the sub-committee for the prevention of discrimination, and the preservation of rights of minorities, and the committee of human rights.
- 12 — The report of the committee of women of the American countries.
- 13 — Correspondence concerning the position of women.

This was a brief account of the events of the twenty-four years' reign of His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, a monarch who assumed kingship in the most critical moments in the history of a country occupied by foreign forces of invasion, who has never followed any course but that of truth and justice, and never taken any step but for the welfare and happiness of his nation. He stood resolutely with a firm belief in victory against all the difficulties, political and economic crises, and unfair expectations of foreigners, and achieved ultimate victory by means of noble human qualities and his wise policy. In a span of time less than ten years, he eliminated all political crises, and paved the way for the social revolution of Iran. He carried the standard himself, and brought about the greatest and deepest transformation in various aspects of life in his country. While he gave the country political stability, he brought the foreign policy of Iran out of the weakness and helplessness into which it had fallen, and raised the position of Iran in international politics, and still continues, with the help of God, to lead the way for this nation and government in the way of social and economic

progress. God the Almighty is his supporter, and the truth-loving Iranian nation is wisely and intelligently attached to its far-sighted king.

Live to see his glory of the morning,  
For this is only the light of his dawn.

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